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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Notice to Members

The Membership Committee would call the attention of the members of the Historical Association to the fact that our activities could be greatly expanded if we had a larger membership.

Any member of the Society of Friends and also non-Friends are eligible for membership and the committee would welcome nominations. Kindly forward such nominations to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, Anna Richardson, Torresdale, Pennsylvania.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

SOME STAGE QUAKERS.

A paper by President William W. Comfort, of Haverford College, read at the Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Association, 11 mo. 24, 1924.

The Quaker on the stage was originally not there of his own choice. He was placed in that strange and incongruous position by others, sometimes friends of his religious society, more often enemies or scoffers. I think I came upon my first specimen of the stage Quaker many years ago in Alfred deVigny's well-known tragedy of *Chatterton* (1834). Since then, having kept my eyes open for others, I have now in hand notes on some fifteen English and American plays in which a rôle is taken by a Quaker. The dates of these plays range from 1677 to 1919, though most of them are of the eighteenth century. So far as I am aware, nothing has been published on the stage Quaker in general, though valuable information on the earlier period may be found in Ezra K. Maxfield's unpublished doctoral dissertation which I have consulted with profit in manuscript form in the Harvard Library, "Quakerism and English Literature, 1650–1750." The present notes are of course not exhaustive, but will give some idea of the Quakers as they appeared to worldly playwrights, and may serve as an inspiration to someone to carry the investigation further.

I know of no play dating from the early period of persecution. The earliest I have discovered was written by John Leanerd, licensed in 1677 and dedicated to Sir Francis Hinchman. A copy is in the Jenks collection in the Haverford College Library. Its title is "The Country Innocence or the Chambermaid Turned Quaker." Miserable comedy as it is, without any saving trait, one wonders who could ever have printed such filthy trash. Not until the fifth act do we meet the Quaker note, which is here, as often elsewhere, confused with Puritan in general. A bawd named Bab and Rash, her lover, are here shown metamorphosed.

Bab banters him thus: "Ah, consider what a vile trade you follow, how you cheated this, that and t'other Friend, and all for want of the true light, which now is plentifully bestowed upon thee." When threatened by a drunken pal with death if he does not drink, Rash says: "No, I will first turn martyr, and take my affliction patiently, 'tis the oath of the Brethren. . . . But strike, I am armed with spiritual armour." Friends are referred to as 'the faithful' and 'the Brethren.'

Bab, in speaking to her former mistress of having been the latter's 'creature,' says: "In the phrase of the world 'twas so, but I am now my own; verily I do err, for no wife is her own disposer, verily none, for we, to affirm sincerely, are but members of our head, the man our spouse and our superior." She adds that she has decided to "put off our vain and superfluous colours, and to walk as becometh the zealously metamorphosed." Her whining cant causes a bystander to inquire: "How comes she to speak in the nose so?," and another observer informs that it is "the tone of the Brethren." There is in this play no motivation for the chamberwench to turn Quaker. The episode is probably introduced for comic effect by the author, who knew a little of the Quaker plainness and manner of speech.

"The Mock Marriage," by Thomas Scott, was a comedy acted at the theatre in Dorset Garden by His Majesty's servants and printed in London in 1696. In it there are two Quaker women who are only incidental persons taking part in an effort to prevent a certain marriage. Sarah, whose daughter has been wronged, complains to the world's people of the injury which has been done her family and inquires of them: "Where is that man of sin, that vessel of uncleanness . . . whose carnal mind, sated with the heavenly manna, longs for the Aegyptian flesh-pots. . . . Yea, verily, that Son of Perdition, who having won to his embraces the daughter of my bosom, promises to take her to wife in the face of the congregation; and loe! now he leaveth her like an unholy thing." The mother, however, is easily bought off by Lord Goodland presenting the daughter with 500 £. Upon promise of this subsidy, the mother says: "Thy words have the sweet savour of godliness in 'em; see the money paid, and we are satisfied." There is, of course, nothing characteristic about this Quaker in-

trusion except the jargon which is put in the mouth of Sarah and which is, as we shall see, characteristic of many of the plays in which the Quakers take a humble part.

Certain conventional earmarks of the Quakers became connected with them on the stage, such as cant, big words, humming, plain dress and sanctimonious bearing. A good example is furnished by "Vice Reclaimed or The Passionate Mistress" by Richard Williamson, Gent., 1703, and acted by Her Majesty's servants at the Theatre Royal. Here we find the decayed old rake Sir Feeble Goodwill seeking in marriage 'the Widow Purelight, a rich Quaker.' In order to ingratiate himself with 'her nostril piety,' he says: "I have hired a coat, hat and primitive cravat of the play-house, and have been this morning practising the cant; so that I will acknowledge my conversion to be the work of her lips, and the power of her eyes." Thus disguised, he presses his suit:

S. F. "Widow, arise, let not thy heart be hardened like the wicked ones."
Wid. "Truly, I am in exceeding great doubt."
S. F. "I say both yea and verily, 'tis the evil spirit of contradiction, that waxeth strong in thee. As I may say—a perverseness of heart—hum—"
Wid. "I am amazed. Yea, confounded in my intellectuals at thy sudden conversion, and doubt of the truth thereof—hum—"
S. F. "The wicked doubt indeed, but thou Widow hast worked a work. I have renounced the heathenish superstition, and am become thy creature; I love thee in sincerity."

Pressing her to drink with him against her will, he says: "This is called the Brethren's Reconciler, prepared by Rebecca, the daughter of Aminadab, near unto Turner's Hall, and is of a delicious flavour." Indulging to a friend in his pre-nuptial hopes, he says he will beget "such a parcel of puritannical (sic) whelps as shall new stock Pensilvania" (sic). After the marriage Sir Feeble remarks: "The great work is done, verily 'tis finished, and consummation approacheth like the joyfulness even of joy, I will cleave unto thee with the bowels of sincerity, till the frailty of nature passeth away and we both steal to heaven, *nemine contradicente*." By way of wedding party, he says: "I have provided entertainment on this occasion full of innocent diversion, and to be performed by the brethren themselves in unity and meekness";

whereupon there follows 'a dance of five Quakers.' It is possible, though not easy, to conceive of some merriment being aroused in public by such a travesty.

Much more interesting is Charles Shadwell's play "Fair Quaker of Deal or The Humours of the Navy," 1710. The comedy is taken up with the behaviour on shore of officers of the British navy. One of the young women with whom Capt. Worthy is in love is Dorcas Zeal, 'bred a Quaker,' while her sister Arabella is a member of the Established Church, and makes game of Dorcas' plain manners and speech. To her sister Dorcas says: "Why look thee, Arabella, my religion and dress may seem strange unto thee, because thou art of the church belonging to the wicked, but I tell unto thee, Worthy loveth me so much, that I have hopes of drawing him to be one of the pure ones. 'Tis true, thou art a facetious young creature, and the education my aunt hath given thee maketh thy thoughts run much upon the vanity of this world; and I suppose the fortune my father left thee will be drawn in to the arms of one of the lewd pillars of thy steeple-house."

To her lover she says: "To-morrow, then, I will be thine; according to the foolish custom of thy church, the priest shall join our hands."

Dorcas is portrayed throughout as a charming combination of simplicity and good sense. At the close of the play she recovers from a deception which had been practised upon her by her worldly sister Arabella, who, dressed like a Quaker in men's clothes, had attempted to gain her own ends by deception. While in this dress, Arabella says (Act V, Scene 1): "I think I look as like one of the pious brethren as if I had been educated by George Fox." There is reference in Act V, Scene 2, to the London Yearly Meeting as follows:

Ara. "I have seen thee often before, verily."
Dor. "Where didst thou see me?"
Ara. "In the great London city."
Dor. "When there saw'st thou me?"
Ara. "At the last general assembly of the faithful, met at that season worldly men call Whitsuntide."
Dor. "Yea truly, our good brother Shadrach carried me up to that noisy town of pride and vanity, to greet our brethren friends at the last meeting."

Dorcas refers to a marrying priest as a "steeple-house yoke-maker," but finally consents at the end of Act V "to make our marriage yoke more cheerful still, from this blessed hour I'll join thy holy worship." So that the play ends with the apparent conversion of the only real Quaker in it to the Established Church.

Mrs. Centlivre, 1667–1723, author and playwright, is the best known of those who have presented the Quakers on the stage and seems to have better known what she was talking about. After a checkered career she married Joseph Centlivre, chief cook of Queen Anne. Her dramatic works have been honored by a reprint in three volumes in 1872. Her plots, though coarse and farcical, are often ingenious and amusing. Her play "A Bold Stroke for a Wife," 1718 (?), is probably the best known of the English plays we are considering. Mr. Wilkes, the actor, it is reported, "not only declared that the piece would be damned, but she herself be damned for writing it" (see 'Eccentric Female Biography,' 1806). But nevertheless it was successful. In this comedy a charming, worldly girl, Anne Lovely, has been left with a fortune by her father in care of four guardians, each of whom is a different kind of crank: a fashionable fop, a stock jobber, a sad archæologist, and a stiff Quaker who is a hosier. The last named is Obadiah Prim and his wife is Sarah Prim. The ward spends three months of the year with each guardian. Her lover is Col. Feignwell, whose task is to win each guardian in turn by playing up to his weakness and adopting different disguises. Obadiah is represented as a sanctimonious hypocrite, not above making love to the pantry-maid. He reproves Anne's worldly attire and standards, as does also his wife. They refer to the world's people as 'the wicked ones,' always say 'Thou,' and call people by their first names.

To further his designs with the Quaker guardian, Feignwell purloins from the mail a letter of recommendation addressed to Obadiah which reads as follows: "Friend Prim, there is arrived from Pennsylvania one Simon Pure, a leader of the faithful, who hath sojourned with us eleven days, and hath been a great comfort to the brethren. He intendeth for the quarterly meeting in London; I have recommended him to thy house; I pray thee treat him kindly, and let thy wife cherish him, for he's of a weakly

constitution. He will depart from us the third; which is all from thy friend in the faith,

Aminadab Holdfast."

This letter is from a friend in Bristol, England. Feignwell decides to impersonate Simon Pure and get there first. When Feignwell as the false Quaker arrives, Obadiah says to him: "Friend Pure, thou art welcome; how is it with Friend Holdfast, and all Friends in Bristol? Timothy Littleworth, John Slenderbrain, and Christopher Keepfaith?" He also inquires for 'all Friends' in Pennsylvania. Owing to Feignwell's disguise, Anne does not recognize him, though he proclaims he has had a vision of Anne reaching out to him, and "methought the damsel grew unto my side." The Prims tell Feignwell that Anne is 'one of the ungodly' and leave him with her to convert her in private, which he quickly does, to Obadiah's amazed satisfaction. Anne's manner to the Prims quickly changes when she understands her part in the hoax. Feignwell realizes he must secure her hand quickly by getting Obadiah's signed permit to marry her, as he already has that of the other guardians whom he has deceived. This permit he secures in time by indulging with Anne in the following cant which deceives the Prims:

Col. F. "My spirit is greatly troubled, and something telleth me, that though I have wrought a good work in converting this maiden, this tender maiden, yet my labour will be in vain; for the evil spirit fighteth against her: and I see, yea, I see with the eye of my inward man, that Satan will rebuffet her again, whenever I withdraw myself from her, and she will, yea, this very damsel will return again to that abomination from whence I have retrieved her, as it were, yea, as if it were out of the jaws of the fiend."

Miss L. "I must second him. (Aside.) What meaneth this struggling within me? I feel the spirit resisteth the vanities of this world, but the flesh is rebellious, yea, the flesh—I greatly fear the flesh, and the weakness thereof—hum—"

Obad. "The maid is inspired. (Aside.) Prodigious! The damsel is filled with the spirit—Sarah."

Enter Mrs. Prim.

Mrs. P. "I am greatly rejoiced to see such a change in our beloved Anne. I came to tell thee, that supper stayeth for thee."

Col. F. "I am not disposed for thy food; my spirit longeth for more delicious meat!—fain would I redeem this maiden from the tribe of sinners, and break those cords asunder wherewith she is bound—hum—"

Miss L. "Something whispers in my ears, methinks—that I must be subject to the will of this good man, and from him only must hope for consolation—hum—It also telleth me that I am a chosen vessel to raise up seed to the faithful, and that thou must consent that we two be one flesh according to the word—hum—"

Obad. "What a revelation is here! This is certainly part of thy vision, friend; this is the maiden's growing unto thy side; ah! with what willingness should I give thee my consent, could I give thee her fortune too—but thou wilt never get the consent of the wicked ones."

Col. F. "I wish I was sure of yours." (Aside.)

Obad. "Thy soul rejoiceth, yea, rejoiceth, I say, to find the spirit within thee; for lo, it moveth thee with natural agitation—yea, with natural agitation towards this good man—yea, it stirreth, as one may say,—yea, verily I say, it stirreth up thy inclination—yea, as one would stir a pudding."

All. "Hum!"

Miss L. "I see, I see! the spirit guiding of thy hand, good Obadiah Prim, and now behold thou art signing thy consent and now I see myself within thy arms, my friend and brother, yea, I am become bone of thy bone, and flesh of thy flesh. (Embracing him.) Hum—"

Mrs. P. "The spirit hath greatly moved them both—friend Prim, thou must consent; there's no resisting of the spirit!"

Obad. "Fetch me the pen and ink, Sarah—and my hand shall confess its obedience to the spirit."

(Exit Mrs. Prim.)

Mrs. Centlivre has two other plays of lesser importance which should be mentioned. The first of these is "The Beau's Duel or A Soldier For The Ladies." In this, Mrs. Plotwell, a female go-between and marriage promoter, disguises herself as a Quaker to deceive a recalcitrant father and cause him to marry his daughter Clarinda to her lover, Col. Manly. While in disguise she says: "I say that mankind were not made for foppery and pride, but to do good in their generation. Pr'ythee shew me one text of Scripture for the fashions, or where jewels are commended, or what holy maiden ever had a valet to dress 'em, as they say the French ladies have, O monstrous Fashion! No, no, our devotest women wore coarse linen, or rather none at all." Again she says: "I love retirement, must have time for my devotion in my own way; I'm not used to the ceremony of visits, and hate Tea-Table vanity, and card-play, as they call it." Needless to say, she throws off all this disguise quickly when her object has been gained.

"A Gotham Election," by the same author, is a rough and tumble vulgar comedy of election and religious parties. In it appears 'Scruple, a Quaker,' in a very minor part as present at a christening 'filling wine.' He speaks very plainly and is heartily despised for his apparent honesty by Lady Worthy, who refers to his Society as "your canting congregation" and to him as "this canting old Villian" (sic) and "spawn of old Noll."

An anonymous composition attributed to Thomas Walton by Smith, the Quaker bibliographer, is the "Quaker's Opera," as performed at Bartholomew Fair, London, in 1728. It is, like the "Beggar's Opera," a portrayal of jailbirds in and out of Newgate Prison. There is nothing to concern us in the play except the introduction, which is a dialogue between "an old Quaker and a player." The burden of this dialogue is to the effect that the theatre may be defended if the plays are decent, and in that case even a Quaker is willing to countenance the players.

Charles Dibdin (1745–1814) wrote "The Quaker," a comic opera in two acts, which was performed at Drury Lane Theatre in 1777. Charles Dibdin was a Winchester School boy and gives in this opera the most pleasing portrayal of a Quaker as a philanthropist that we have met thus far. This Quaker, who is the patron of his village, has had the generous habit of observing the following custom: "that villager who can boast of having done the most ingenious thing, claims a right to demand a farm, containing sixty acres, rent-free for seven years, and a hundred pounds to stock it, together with whatever maiden he chooses, provided he gains her consent." In Act II, Scene 3, on a lawn around a Maypole, Mr. Steady, the Quaker, addresses the assembled villagers: "Friends and neighbors, it hath been my study since I first came among you, to do whatever might procure me your love and esteem. I have instituted a custom, the salutary effects of which I view with great gladness; and each is well entitled to the reward he has received. I will now propose to you a question, to see which of you can make the most ready reply. What of all things in the world is the longest and the shortest, the swiftest and the slowest, the most precious, the most neglected, and without which nothing can be done?" The youth Lubin, by correctly answering "Time," secures the hand of the

maiden with whom he is in love, and in congratulating them, Mr. Steady says: "Verily, my heart warmeth unto you both; your innocence and love are equally respectable. And would the voluptuous man taste a more exquisite sensation than the gratifying his passions, let him prevail upon himself to do a benevolent action."

Samuel Foote, a manager of the Haymarket Theatre and himself an actor, published in 1778 "The Devil Upon Two Sticks," a comedy in three acts. Foote himself took the part of the Devil in this comedy, which is a satire upon the medical profession. In Act III, at a ridiculous medical conclave, one of the absurd doctors is Melchisedeck Broadbrim, not specifically called a Quaker but evidently one, from his name and cant and objection to arms. Addressing his colleagues, he utters many windy phrases: "Fellow-Labourers in the same vineyard! . . . Ye wot also, that I hold it not meet or wholesome to use a carnal weapon, even for the defense of myself; much more unseemly then must I deem it to draw the sword for the offense of others . . . and know, that I am as free to draw my purse in this cause, as thou art thy sword: and thou wilt find, at the length, notwithstanding thy swaggering, that the first will do us best service. . . . It is my motion, then, brethren, that we do forthwith send after a sinful man in the flesh, called an attorney. . . . And therewith, I say, let him possess the outward tabernacle of the vain man, who delighteth to call himself President." Thus Broadbrim simply represents an additional farcical element to what is already a perfect Cave of Adullam of mad physicians.

John O'Keefe (1747–1833) wrote a play, "The Young Quaker," of which the first edition is that of Dublin, 1784. It was also printed by Thomas Bradford, No. 8 South Front Street, Philadelphia, in 1794. It is a play of London society in the eighteenth century, in which three Philadelphia Quakers take part. The father, old Sadboy, has sent his son, young Sadboy, to England to attend to some money matters for the Brethren in Philadelphia, but young Broad Brim has turned "by rapid degrees into a man of pleasure. Has been already at two Plays, one Opera, three Concerts—nay, has bespoke his dress for the masquerade—bought a hunter at Tattersall's. . . . His yea is succeeded by

zounds, and his nay is gentleman usher to a damme." At his boarding house his servant is warranted in saying of him: "A Quaker d'ye call him? My mistress says he is a Muggletonian."

In other words, he has profited by his absence from Philadelphia with a pocketful of money to cut something of a dash in London society. As he says, "What the devil would you have a young fellow like me do, my reason floating in Burgundy, my heart melted with the wax candle of Love, and a thumping purse in my pocket, hey! (*Capers.*) Yea, with the weight of much gold was my pocket weighed down." His conversation is a queer parody of plain speech interlarded with expressions of worldly emphasis. As he says in one place: "Friend, I would not promote strife, but were I a captain, instead of a Quaker, I would kick that man, yea, verily, I would kick him hard." When old Sadboy, arriving in London and inquiring for his son's business reputation, learns the truth and is disgusted, he says: "I will bequeath my money and my goods, and my plantations in America to strangers among the Brethren, to such as are strangers to my blood." When he first meets the apparently wayward son, he exclaims, "I sent thee over to England to transact business for the Faithful in Philadelphia. Hast thou done it? . . . Thou hast been among the silk worms and the hair powderers, and the horse breakers, wine bibbers, and haberdashers." Young Sadboy, however, is not so bad as has hitherto appeared. Of interest is his determination to mingle wisdom and gaiety: "Sadness is a folly, and to be wise is to be merry. . . . On my return to America every slave of mine shall be as free as the air he breaths (sic); while liberty is the glory of an Englishman, let us cease to make a sordid traffic of our fellow-creatures; and the world knows all my brethren are of the same opinion." Thus this play starts with making fun of a worldly young Quaker who has cut loose from his Philadelphia home, but ends by praising his good qualities when he has successfully combined the qualities of 'Quaker and rake.'

Another play of which the first edition is that of Philadelphia, 1795, is "The Triumphs of Love or Happy Reconciler," a comedy in four acts by John Murdock, a barber, acted at the New Theatre, Philadelphia. The first edition of it is in the University of Pennsylvania Library. There is nothing that needs to be

mentioned in detail here except that reference is made in the play to the recent Revolutionary War and to the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. The object of the play appears to be the conversion of the plain Quaker, Jacob Friendly, Sr., to a more generous tolerance of worth even when shown in worldly ways.

"Woman's Wit or Love's Disguises," by James Sheridan Knowles, was given at Covent Garden in 1838 and included in the author's dramatic works, London, 1856. In this play the beautiful but worldly Hero Sutton wins the love of Sir Valentine, but also incurs his criticism for her worldliness. She tries the genuineness of his affection by disguising herself as a Quakeress, and finds he is entirely willing to equal her in plainness. Hero has the less difficulty in disguising herself because of her acquaintance at school with a Quakeress, Helen Mowbray, a sweet girl brought up in the manner of her sect. Hero claims that she has only heard of dancing, and terms it 'an idle pastime.' She rebukes worldly dress, titles and riches, and insists upon plain salutation and grave hand-shakings. The most interesting part of the play is that in which marriage is discussed. Here she tells Sir Valentine:

> Our sect, thou know'st,
> Prohibits marriage, save amongst its own;
> To number thee with whom, if thou inclinest
> To recommend thee, it behoves (sic) thee win
> Some brother's, sister's word—Such are at hand—
> Wilt thou submit thee to their scrutiny?
> But mind, whate'er they may remark,
> Thou takest in silence—even in good part.
> It will be scandal to me else, because
> Of entertaining thee.

She even suggests two Friends with whom he may confer:

> Brother Ephraim I wish to see,
> And with him sister Grace.

These quotations evidently indicate some acquaintance with the Discipline concerning the part of one desiring to join with Friends.

Finally, all disguise is cast aside, Sir Valentine and Hero realize that they wish simplicity in their married life, and he says to her:

> Then must we wed.—O for that plumed tiar,
> The simple hood!—that costly lace, the coif
> Close-pinn'd, and modest—clear! That gorgeous dress,
> The gown embroider'd with humility!

Sir Henry Arthur Jones composed a curious play, "The Dancing Girl," described as "a play of modern English life," performed at the Haymarket Theatre in London, 1891, and at the Lyceum Theatre in New York in the same year. Some of the scenes are laid in a primitive community on the Isle of St. Endelion, with a Quaker meeting-house in the scenery, 'a plain square granite building, showing a door and two windows, and built on a low insular rock.' David Ives, a Quaker, has two daughters: Faith, good and sincere, and Drusilla, a pagan beauty who has been off in London for seven years in gay and corrupt society dancing as the paramour of the Duke of Guisebury, 'the cruel and negligent absentee proprietor of the island.' The Quakers as represented might as well be Methodists, or any other simple folk of strong feelings. David speaks of the Quakers as "our persuasion" and elsewhere of "week-night meeting." Drusilla describes the island as a place "where they play harmoniums on Sunday afternoon." The pronouns 'you' and 'thou' are not carefully observed. Needless to say, the whole interest of the play is aroused not by the faithless Quaker setting, but by the conversion of the Duke at the eleventh hour to a sense of his duties and privileges.

Of all the plays I have read, the only one which has the serious purpose of revealing the Quaker struggle of conscience in time of national war is "The Inward Light," a drama in four acts, by Allen Davis and Anne R. Stratton, New York, 1919. Probably many are familiar with this play, which is written to be read and not acted. The scene is laid in Civil War time, but the play was written during the War of 1914, and reflects all the shades of Quaker feeling in the presence of conflict of duties. A serious attempt is made to reproduce literally the dialogue and practice of Pennsylvania Quakerism in 1861, not correct in all details, but the best I have seen in any play. It presents "a moral conflict, a spiritual tragedy, conscience battling with happiness in the crises of war." As the play is readily accessible, it is not necessary to give an analysis of the action.

Such are the aspects in which it has pleased some of the minor dramatists of England to portray the Quakers. We have allowed the plays to speak for themselves, believing that little comment is required. It is evident that what struck worldly men and women most in the personality and creed of the Quakers was the plainness of their manner of life, the peculiar jargon which they were believed to speak, their objection to certain worldly diversions such as the theatre and luxury of dress and personal adornment. Some knowledge is evident, as we have seen, of their church polity. They are throughout regarded as a peculiar people by those of the world who surround them, and some credit is given them for the virtue of simplicity, honesty and personal righteousness. Doubtless it is hard for us to conceive of our ancestors as having offered much for the playwright to lay hold upon. It is hard at the present time to imagine that the world would find much of dramatic interest in our own lives and persons. But it was not without interest to rescue these Quaker figures of the past from their places of retreat in the somewhat obscure comedies in which they are imbedded.

FRIENDLY TESTIMONY REGARDING STAGE-PLAYS.

By Ezra Kempton Maxfield, Ph.D.,

Professor of English Literature, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania.

In its attitude toward the theatre the Religious Society of Friends has always been consistently puritanic.[1] This is natural enough, for the whole body of separatists in the seventeenth century voiced a unanimous objection not only to theatrical performances but to all other public amusements as well. Indeed the very tradition established by the Reformation was antagonistic to worldly diversions. Beyond that we find the church

[1] The puritanism referred to here is the state of mind. It should be recognized, however, that there was not a little Puritan blood in the Friends of the seventeenth century. See F. H. S. *Journal*, I, 91; E. Peckover, II, 85; W. Simpson, II, 88; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 344–5; Friends Tract Assn., No. 226, "Changed Warfare."

catholic standing in opposition to the whole profession of play-acting: not only in the fourth century when it closed the gates of the corrupt Roman theatre, forcing the acting profession to take to a vagabond existence, but much later.

Puritanism kept many of the traditions of the earlier church. Among other habits of mind was an instinctive monastic horror of luxury, an intolerance for anything superfluous, especially that which would give pleasure to the senses. Like the monks and hermits of old the Puritans believed that their spiritual salvation lay in a sort of Neo-platonic abnegation of the flesh.

Moreover, all Puritans of the seventeenth century had local reasons for objecting to the stage. Quakerism, for example, was reared in an age of corrupt morals, when society was suffering the collapse which followed in the wake of a too rigorously enforced discipline during the Cromwellian interregnum. Drama, the most sensitive of all literary agencies, during the latter part of the seventeenth century naturally reflected the moral decay which characterized the social life in England in the reign of Charles the Second; this in spite of the fact that some of the cleverest minds that ever constructed plays were at work for the stage.[2]

But had the stage not been corrupt at this crucial time, when opinions once formed were to constitute later principles, the Friends would still have opposed the theatre. Professor Quinn, in his excellent work on the American Drama,[3] attributes the opposition of Quakers and Puritans in America to puritanic frugality which objected to the expense of theatrical presentations. While many Friends were undoubtedly frugal, their objections were certainly deeper than that. I think Clarkson [4] put his finger directly to the spot when he explained the Quaker objection on the ground of the insincerity of dramatic performances. The Quaker mind has always shunned any impersonation, any disguise, any subterfuge. It counts it a sin for an actor to seem to be what he is not. In addition to this, the Friend has the conscientious fear

[2] For an authoritative account of the drama of this period, see G. H. Nettleton, *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*. 1914.

[3] Arthur Hobson Quinn, *History of American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War*, University of Penna., 1924.

[4] Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism*, 3 vols. 1806.

that he will have his thoughts distracted from a holy contemplation of God by witnessing vanities.

This was certainly the attitude of William Penn when he wrote his "No Cross, No Crown," which is one of the earliest Friendly books to condemn the stage. Being a recent convert, he presumedly derived some of his opinions from the Quaker leaders of his time. He was one of the early Friends who had received a university education. Being reared as the son of a prominent royalist he had had plenty of opportunity to witness plays at the public and private theatres. Certainly, he knew what he was condemning. Unlike most of the Quaker testimony of a later time it was not confined to those vague generalizations which I fear often spell ignorance.

In 1669, at the time when he was confined in the tower for voicing sentiments which were displeasing to the crown, the English stage was popularizing the so-called Heroic Drama.[5] This is known to dramatic students as a highly artificial performance, not only rhetorically but in action, quite suggestive of the modern opera, its offspring, where truthfulness to life is not the primary object.

The following paragraph, from "No Cross, No Crown," plainly indicates the author's familiarity with this type of play. Further, note how naturally he approaches the subject through the puritanic contempt for fashionable vanities:

> Those customs and fashions, which make up the common attire and conversation of the times, do eminently obstruct the inward retirement of people's minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality. . . . Their mornings are too short for them to wash, to smooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwise to attire and adorn themselves; whilst their afternoons are as commonly bespoken for visits, and for plays; where their usual entertainments are some stories fetched from the more approved romances; some strange adventures, some passionate amours, unkind refusals, grand impediments, importunate addresses, miserable disappointments, wonderful surprises, unexpected encounters, castles surprised, imprisoned lovers rescued, and meetings of supposed dead ones; bloody duels, languishing voices echoing from solitary groves, unheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched sighs sent from wild deserts, intrigues managed with unheard-of subtility: and whilst all things seem at the greatest distance, there are dead people alive, enemies friends, despair turned to enjoyment, and all their possi-

[5] Nettleton, *op. cit.*, V.

bilities reconciled; things that were, are not, nor ever shall or could be, all come to pass.

Barclay's Apology, as is well known, did much to unify Friendly sentiments. To the present writer at least, Barclay seems to have set the formulas for most subsequent Quaker publications on the subject of amusements. In a single paragraph he covers the whole range of objectionable recreations and gives unanswerable reasons for Friendly objection to them. It should be noticed that Friends in council are invariably brief and equally sweeping in their treatment of this subject. Barclay says:

If to use games, sports, plays; if to card, dice, and sing; if to sing, fiddle, and pipe; if to use stage-plays and comedies, and to lie, counterfeit, and dissemble, be to fear always; and if that be to do all things in the glory of God; and if that be to pass our sojourning here in fear; and if that be to use this world as we do not use it; and if that be to fashion ourselves according to our former lusts, to be conformable to the spirit and vain conversation of this world; then are our adversaries, notwithstanding they use these things and plead for them, very good, sober, mortified, and self-denying Christians, and we be justly be blamed for judging them, but not otherwise.

Presumedly the printed Epistles [6] of the London Yearly Meeting are a good index of Quaker feeling on the subject of stage-plays in the eighteenth century. There may have been much more agitation shown within the confines of the meeting house than was allowed to become public, but by that sign alone we may judge the attitude of the Friends before the world.

There is no mention of the theatre in this publication before the year 1720. Perhaps until then it had not been necessary to resort to a published warning. Certainly the following sentence must reflect some real concern grown out of known deflection of Friends from the path of rectitude.

It is also seriously advised, that no Friends suffer romances, playbooks, and other vain and idle pamphlets in their houses or families, which tend to corrupt the minds of youth; but instead thereof, that they excite them to reading of the holy scriptures, and religious books.[7]

Fourteen years later occurs the apparently innocuous item, in the epistle of 1734:

[6] *Annual Letters of Advice and Greeting to Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and America.*

[7] London *Epistles* (edn. 1818), p. 170.

And seeing it is very evident that evil communications corrupt good manners, we think proper to recommend with much affection to our young Friends, that they be careful to avoid all such company as, by a light and vain conversation, would tend to alienate their minds from the love of virtue and sobriety; for the discourse of fools is irksome, and their sport is in the wantonness of sin. Eccles. xxvii, 13. If therefore thou be among the indiscreet, observe the time; tarry not there, but be continually among men of understanding. Ver. 12.

This does not seem to have any reference to the theatre at all, but in the Epistle of 1739 we find that the warning must have applied to this form of amusement. Apparently it was now necessary to be more explicit. If Friends, especially the young, were not at this time known to patronize the amusements mentioned, why was it necessary to use such a very strong word, in Friendly diction at least, as "beseech"?

As in our Epistle of the year 1734, the youth among us were recommended, in much affection, to be careful to avoid all such company, as by a light and vain conversation doth tend to alienate their minds from the love of virtue and sobriety, we find it our concern to renew the said advice; and earnestly beseech our Friends, and especially the youth among us, to avoid all such conversation as may tend to draw out their minds into the foolish and wicked pastimes with which this age aboundeth; particularly BALLS, GAMING-PLACES,—HORSE-RACES and PLAY-HOUSES, those nurseries of debauchery and wickedness; the burthen and grief of the sober part of other societies, as well as our own; practices wholly unbecoming a people under the Christian profession; contrary to the tenour of the doctrine of the gospel, and examples of the best men in the earliest ages of the church. For as "evil communication corrupteth good manners," so it is the duty of men professing religion who live in this world in order to obtain a better, not only to "shake their hands from holding of bribes, and stop their ears from hearing of blood" but also, "to shut their eyes from seeing evil." Isa. xxxiii, 15.[8]

In Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century the Society struggled to maintain a theatreless community, but inasmuch as they had not restricted the territory to their own membership, they had to see the control of the moral welfare, no less than the politics, of the colony affected by the opinions of more worldly groups. To have kept Pennsylvania as a close corporation would have been inconsistent with Friendly ideas of liberty, even if practicable, yet consistency must have seemed a great price when

[8] It might be instructive also to make comparison with similar epistles sent out by the American yearly meetings, for which there is no space in this paper.

it meant a constantly weakening influence in matters like the control of theatrical entertainments. The presence of other dissenting bodies such as Baptists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans appears to have strengthened the puritanic hand of the Friends, since these other sects quite as vigorously opposed the theatre. Episcopalians and Catholics, however, affected a tolerance for the American theatre.[9] Besides them were others who perhaps had no religious affiliation at all. They naturally were in favor of it. Some years before the Revolution numerous attempts were made to present plays in Philadelphia. As early as 1749 a company of actors succeeded in giving performances in an old brick warehouse on Water Street; and again in 1754 puritanic influence was not strong enough to prevent Louis Hallam, the elder, with his company from playing twenty-four performances in the same building.[10] Thus it is evident that not only were authorities lenient toward the theatre, but goodly numbers of people were unscrupulous enough to form an audience.

Perhaps all this shows rather the unsympathetic attitude of the home government toward puritanic ideas.[11] At any rate, it is interesting to note that early in the history of the newly found independence of the United States, Pennsylvania passed a law, referred to as the Act of 1778, making all theatrical performances unlawful in the state. The part which the Friends may have had in that legislation may be inferred from the records of their activity in council, to which I shall refer presently. In the year 1759, however, there is evidence of much Friendly concern over the increasing prevalence of theatrical performances. The Arch

[9] Quinn, *op. cit.*

[10] Quinn, *op. cit.*

[11] A law known as the "Great Law" was passed the first year that William Penn came to the colony. It provided that "whosoever shall introduce into the Province or frequent such rude and riotious sports as Prizes, Stage-plays, Masques, Revels, Bull-Baiting, Cock-fightings, with such like, being convicted thereof, shall be reported and fined as breakers of the peace, and suffer at least ten days imprisonment at hard labor in the House of Correction, or forfeit thirty shillings." The colonists reënacted the law in 1700; so it must have been annulled before this time by the Queen. It was annulled again in 1709, reënacted by the colonists in 1710, and annulled still again by the crown in 1713.—J. Leeds, *The Theatre* (1884), p. 59.

Street records contain a copy of the following petition under date of Fifth Month 22, signed by the hand of Anthony Morris:

To the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pensilvania in General Assembly mett

The Addres of the People Called Quakers
Respectfully Sheweth

That We have with real Concern heard that a Company of Stage Players are preparing to Erect a Theatre & Exhibit Plays to the Inhabitants of this City, Wch we conceive, will if permitted be Subversive of the Good Order Morale & Prosperity we desire may be preserved among us. We therefore think it our Duty to request you to prepare & lay before the Governor for his approbation a Law to prohibit all Such Ensnaring & irrilegious destructive Consequences arising from them may be prevented & the Good Intentions of the magistrates who are inclin'd to make use of their Power to Suppress the Growth of Vice and Imorality may be strengthened & confirmed & the United endeavors of all Ranks of People be excited for the promoting & maintaining the Practice of Piety & Virtue & manifesting with Sincerety & Gratitude a Reverent acknowledgement of the Gracious Indulgence of Divine Providence in averting the Calamities we lately apprehend & continuing to us the many Blessings & Favors we now enjoy.

Signed in & on behalf of our meeting for Suffering at Philadelphia the 22nd Day of the Fifth Month 1759

(Signed) Anthy Morris.

It appears that the occasion for this action was an attempt by one David Douglas, who had succeeded to the management of the old American Company, so known, to build a playhouse in Philadelphia. Knowing that he would meet opposition he had emulated the actor-managers in Shakspere's day by building just over the line from the city, in what was then known as Cedar Street, now South Street, at Vernon. Douglas built his auditorium and held forth to city audiences for at least one season.[12]

In 1778 the Friends appear to have taken new courage. The steps by which the famous petition was prepared can be plainly seen by the following extracts from the minutes of Philadelphia

[12] Probably the law then caught him in its net, for the Assembly in response to various petitions, among them that of the Friends, passed an act setting a fine of 500 pounds as penalty for erecting any "playhouse, theatre, stage, or scaffold, for acting or exhibiting any tragedy, comedy, tragic-comedy, farce, interlude, or other play, or to be concerned in acting or exhibiting any such tragedy, comedy, etc." This law was annulled by the King in 1760.—J. Leeds, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

meetings. Quaker deliberation and thoroughness could hardly be better exemplified.

At least fourteen separate meetings by Philadelphia Friends were devoted to the all-important matter. The first initiative appears to have come from the Monthly Meeting for the Southern District. At least, among the records in the archives at Arch Street we find this statement, that at a meeting of Friends of Philadelphia, 3rd Month 28, 1788, a minute was produced, from the Southern District, "setting forth that an attempt is making to procure Liberty for the Exhibition of Stage Plays in this city and that a number of Friends have been appointed by them to unite with Committees of other Meetings in the Consideration of the Means of preventing this great Evil from taking place amongst us," etc. A committee was accordingly appointed.

The action of the Southern District Monthly Meeting is summed up in the following minute over the signature of Joseph Bringhurst, Clerk:

> It being represented to the meeting that an attempt is now making by a number of stage-players, for liberty publicly to perform their theatrical exhibitions, which being a matter of real concern, and a desire prevailing that our testimony against those vain & sinful amusements may be maintained, the following Friends are desired to join with such as may be named by the other Monthly Meetings in this city, in considering what steps would be most elligible & proper to discourage so great an evil—viz Nicholas Waln, David Evans, Joseph Bringhurst, Daniel Byrnes, Samuel Lewis, Thomas Fisher, William Cliffton, John Morton, Jonathan Evans, Jr., Daniel Drinker, & Thomas Lough.

The Northern District took similar action under date of Fourth Month first, by a minute signed by Isaac Stroud, Clerk. It mentions the action by the other monthly meetings of the city and acknowledges two minutes, undoubtedly those cited above, from these meetings, "setting forth that an attempt has been made to obtain liberty for the exhibition of stage plays in or near the city," etc.; mentions the appointment of committees at these meetings, and records the appointment of Thomas Morris, Joshua Howell, Henry Drinker, Samuel Hopkins, Seymour Hart, John Parrish, Samuel Smith, and Samuel Emlen.

On the following day the united committee met and, it is recorded, "had some conversation thereon" and adjourned to meet

on 4th Month 5th. At the time mentioned we find that "some seasonable remarks were made. Adjourned." Then on the 12th we note the committee as "spending some time together to meet again on seventh day next at the seventh Hour in the evening." At this meeting, on the 19th, at least some definite action was decided upon, in the appointment of seven Friends: namely, James Pemberton, John Drinkwater, Joseph Bringhurst, Nicholas Waln, Henry Drinker, Samuel Emlen, and Owen Biddle, to "prepare an address to the Assembly."

On 6th Month 28th, the committee reported progress. At least the minute reads, "Noted that the address was being prepared. Adj." On 7th Month 5th, the committee "spent some time together. Some alterations approved." A monthly meeting convened on the 25th and records a "minute of the committee which was appointed to meet with committees of other meetings." On 9th Month 3d, a sub-committee met, but recorded no action. On 11th Month 5th, "Most of the Friends met. Address to the Assembly being read and considered and delivered to John Elliott to transcribe." Finally on 11th Month 6th the address is recorded as "transcribed, read over and signed by Friends."

Surely, if ever a document deserved consideration, it was this one.[13]

In the meantime the Northern District had felt impelled to do something to insure the safety of its own members from the threatening evil. On 7th Month 22d it went on record with the following:

A concern having arose in this meeting for the Preservation of our members from the Licentiousness of Manners so sorrowfully prevalent in this City & that our antient & uniform Testimony against all vain and corrupting Amusements may be held forth & supported—John Parrish, William Savery, Samuel Smith, Thomas Scattergood, Thomas Morris, & Michiel Menire are desired to unite with the Overseers & with such Friends as may be appointed by the other Monthly Meetings in order that such suitable Council & Admonition may be imparted to the Youth & others as will tend to discourage their attendance at Theatrical Exhibitions or other Places of Public Diversions which at present so abound in this City.

(To be concluded in next BULLETIN.)

[13] The action of the Assembly was favorable.—*Supra*, pp. 60–1.—Also, Lewis Hallam petitioned without success in 1784 for a repeal of this act.—Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 61. A later petition by Hallam and Henry, however, was presented and acted favorably upon. A copy of this petition is filed in the vaults at the Arch Street Meeting House.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association was held in the Friends' Meeting House, Sixteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Eleventh Month 24th, 1924. Aside from routine business several matters of especial interest came before the meeting.

A resolution was passed commending the efforts of the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, to secure funds for purchasing the original Charter of Pennsylvania granted by William Penn in 1682. It was also voted to address a special notice to the members of the Association asking them to contribute to the fund. (See note, p. 46 below).

In connection with the proposed celebration on 12 mo. 2d and 3d, 1924, of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the following resolution was unanimously carried:

"Resolved, That expressions of congratulation and good will be sent to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, now a century old, and that the following message be delivered by President Lucy B. Roberts:

"Friends Historical Association, incorporated fifty years ago, and having a membership of men and women from various states of the Union, sends this message to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

"Resolved, That expressions of congratulation and good will be sent to your century old Society. You stand as a bulwark against the devastating losses that often come with time.

"To you and to your predecessors large measure of praise is due for your faithful service in so many branches of history. We would particularly note your valuable records pertaining to William Penn and his founding of the Province of Pennsylvania.

"Through all these years you have gathered the facts of history and you are always ready in every way to help the seeker after knowledge."

The Curator of the Association, Jane Moon Snipes, reported that the documents and relics of the Association had been placed in the fire-proof room of Friends' Library, 142 North Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

Howard W. Taylor presented to the Association, by the hand of Watson W. Dewees, the original *Minute Book* of the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association. This was an association for promoting the use of goods produced by free rather than slave labor.

Hugh S. Walker presented a lease for a piece of ground on Sassafras Street, Philadelphia, dated March 23, 1735. The lease was by Joseph Lynn and wife to Joseph Pinyard.

The annual report of the President of the Association was of peculiar interest. Lucy B. Roberts became President of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia in 1919. She served that Society until 1923 when it merged with the older Friends' Historical Association. From 1923 she served as the efficient President of the latter Association. Feeling that she must now retire from the office, she reviewed in her annual report the work of the Society and the Association during her incumbency. It was a story of much constructive achievement, and was listened to with attentive interest by those present.

Before the close of the meeting several members expressed their great appreciation of the services of Lucy B. Roberts to the Association.

Following the report of the Nominating Committee the Directors of the Association for the ensuing year were elected.

President W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College, then read his paper entitled "Some Stage Quakers," which is printed above in this BULLETIN. It was interesting and, *passim*, diverting. Withal it was a real contribution to Quaker history.

DIRECTORS' MEETING.

At the rise of the Annual Meeting the new Directors of the Association met and, in accordance with the Constitution, elected officers "alike of the Association and of the Directors" to serve for one year. (See p. ii above.)

PROPOSED CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION.

At a stated meeting of the Directors of Friends' Historical Association held First Month 15, 1925, it was determined to recommend to the members that Article III of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the words:

> "or by the written assent of the President, Secretary, and Chairman of the Membership Committee."

This would enable the Association to elect candidates for membership more promptly,—as the Directors hold only three stated meetings each year and it is desirable to act on nominations without too much delay.

This is the formal notice required by the Constitution for a proposed change, and the question will be voted on at the next meeting of the Association.

JOSEPH H. HAINES, *Secretary.*

MARKING HISTORIC SITES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

A remarkable program of marking historic sites in Pennsylvania has been carried out recently under the energetic direction of Albert Cook Myers, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Between Sixth Month 21 and Eleventh Month 29, 1924, ten markers were erected. Each one is worthy of an extended notice here but space prohibits more than a list of them compiled from the printed announcements. It is to be hoped that the historic addresses given by Albert Cook Myers at the ceremonies of unveiling may sometime be made available in print. Perhaps the following brief list may be useful for reference to those who delight in pilgrimages to historic places.

Okehocking Indian Town. Marker unveiled 6 mo. 21, 1924, on the State Highway (Philadelphia and West Chester Pike), four miles west of Newtown Square, and seventeen miles west of Philadelphia. (Reported more fully in the Autumn Bulletin, 1924.)

Site of Fort Littleton. One of the chain of frontier defenses of Pennsylvania in the French and Indian Wars. Built in 1756 by Governor Robert Hunter Morris. Marker unveiled 7 mo. 26, 1924, on the Old State Road, a little to the east of the present town of Fort Littleton, in Fulton County.

Site of Conestoga Indian Town. A town of the historic Conestoga Indians, who, unlike the Algonquian Delawares, were of the Iroquoian linguistic stock. Often called Minquas, especially by the Swedes and Dutch. Their town was visited by William Penn in 1701. Marker unveiled 9 mo. 13, 1924, in Lancaster County, four miles southwest of Millersville, on the road from Letort to Safe Harbor.

Site of Captain Thomas Cresap's House or Fort. Cresap was a Marylander who settled on the Indian Lands of Conejohela and held them, 1730–1736, for Lord Baltimore against the Penn proprietors. In 1736 he was captured and carried prisoner to Philadelphia. It is said that he remarked dryly, and with unprintable emphasis, that Philadelphia was "the prettiest town in Maryland." Marker unveiled 9 mo. 27, 1924, in Lower Windsor Township, York County, four miles south of Wrightsville, and two miles east of East Prospect, on the west bank of the Susquehanna River.

Site of Queonemysing Indian Town. Town of the Chief Secetareus and his people, of the Unami Group of the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares. These Indians sold to William Penn the land between Chester Creek and Christiana Creek, 12 mo. 19, 1683.

This interesting Indian Town was located in a great bend of Brandywine Creek on the farm of the late Pusey P. Taylor, in what is now Birmingham Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, just over the Circular Line of Delaware and north of the hill called Point Lookout; about three miles south of Chadds Ford and about seven miles north of Wilmington. The name of

this town and other facts concerning it were discovered recently by Albert Cook Myers.

The marker was unveiled 10 mo. 4, 1924, across the Brandywine from the site of the Town, upon the land of Norman P. Rood, on the west side of the State Highway, near the Reading Railroad, formerly the Wilmington and Northern, a little south of Cossart station and about a mile south of the Twin Bridges.

Site of Minguannan Indian Town. Town of the Chief Machaloha, or Owhala, and his people, of the Unami Group of the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares. These Indians sold to William Penn the lands between the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay, to the Falls of the Susquehanna River, 10 mo. 18, 1683. The site of this town was located recently by Albert Cook Myers. Marker unveiled 10 mo. 18, 1924, the 241st anniversary of the land sale, at the London Tract Baptist Church, about one mile east of the villages of Kemblesville and Strickersville, in London, Britain Township, Chester County.

Site of Cave or Dugout of Francis Daniel Pastorius. This site of the first home in America of the founder of Germantown is situated on the west side of Front Street, near South Street, Philadelphia. Marker unveiled 10 mo. 25, 1924, at 502 South Front Street. (See address of Charles F. Jenkins below.)

Site of the Slate Roof House. The house in which William Penn, with his family, lived on his second visit to Pennsylvania, 1699–1701, as a tenant of Samuel Carpenter. (See Frontispiece above.) Marker unveiled 11 mo. 8, 1924, attached to the Keystone Telephone Building, which occupies the site, at the southeast corner of Second and Sansom Streets, Philadelphia.

Thomas Holme's Philadelphia House. The home of Captain Thomas Holme (1624–1695), William Penn's first Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. He mapped the City of Philadelphia in 1683, and the Province of Pennsylvania in 1687. He also served as a member of the Provincial Assembly and as Acting Governor for a time. Marker unveiled 11 mo. 11, 1924, at 113 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Aside from the ceremony of unveiling, two other meetings were held. One was a stated meeting of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 11 mo. 10, 1924, in commemoration of Thomas

Holme's birth in 1624. At this meeting Albert Cook Myers delivered an address (with lantern slides) on "Captain Thomas Holme: William Penn's First Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania."

A memorial meeting was also held at the grave of Thomas Holme, on 11 mo. 11, 1924, the exact anniversary (new style) of the day of his birth. Thomas Holme in his later years lived on his Plantation Well Spring, near present Holmesburg, Philadelphia. There he lies buried on his own land in the Crispin Family Cemetery, his daughter Esther Holme having married Silas Crispin, son of Captain William Crispin and great grandson of Captain Giles Penn, father of Admiral Sir William Penn. (See Frontispiece above.)

Site of the Frontier Home of Captain John Hanson Steelman (1655–1749). This Indian trader and interpreter was born of Swedish parents within the present limits of the City of Philadelphia. Albert Cook Myers has discovered that he was the first permanent white settler in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna River. The marker was unveiled 11 mo. 29, 1924. It is picturesquely located on a slight elevation of primitive woodland at a public cross-roads, overlooking the vale in which lies Steelman's land. It is a mile easterly over the hill from Zora, three miles northwesterly from Emmitsburg, four miles south of Fairfield and ten miles southwest of Gettysburg. From Gettysburg a good surfaced State Highway passes within a mile of the spot by two routes, one via Emmitsburg and the other via Fairfield and Zora.

It should be stated that all of the bronze tablets used in marking the sites mentioned above were designed gratis by the well-known artist, Paul P. Cret, of Philadelphia. To Albert Cook Myers should go a very great measure of gratitude for his zeal and foresight in carrying out this campaign of site-marking. He desires the Editor to add that in doing it he always had the cordial support of Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. It is a work that will be appreciated through long years by all those who are interested in the history of William Penn's great Province.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE TABLET TO THE MEMORY OF FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS, TENTH MONTH 25, 1924.

By Charles F. Jenkins,
of Philadelphia.

Two hundred and forty-two years ago yesterday, William Penn arrived within the capes of Delaware Bay, on his first visit to his newly purchased province. Just one year later the town of Germantown was laid out and on the following day, that is to say, on the 25th of October, 1683, in a rude dugout cabin which stood near this spot, the thirteen German artisans and immigrants drew lots for their future homes, and started the settlement of Germantown. Of the significance of this event countless books have been written. It has been estimated that one fifth the blood in our United States is German. These people are descendants of ancestors who, leaving the rack and ruin of war-swept Germany and particularly the Rhine Valley, sought an asylum and found a hearty welcome in the new world, and nowhere in greater numbers than in Pennsylvania.

In the vanguard of this movement, not because he was the first German to settle in Pennsylvania, but because he represented a definite movement of racial colonization, was Francis Daniel Pastorius. His story has been often told and no doubt is familiar to most of you, but in placing a tablet to mark this, his first home in America, it is fitting that we should briefly sketch his interesting career. Pastorius was born on September 26th, 1651, at Sommerhausen on the banks of the Main, of a distinguished German family. He was baptized in the Lutheran Church and in his youth enjoyed the best educational advantages his country afforded. He attended in turn four of the great universities of Germany, Altdorf, Strassburg, Basle and Jena, finally concluding his studies at the first named and receiving his licentiate in both canon and civil law. He was especially devoted to the classics, Latin and Greek having been early acquired. He studied French at Strassburg and Italian at Jena, thus fortifying an apparently natural bent for foreign languages, which later included Dutch and Spanish. His association with the great universities had

given him a wide acquaintanceship with books and men, including some of the greatest scholars of the Empire.

He began at the age of twenty-five the practice of his profession of law in the city of Windsheim where his father Melchoir Adam Pastorius then lived. Removing later to Frankfort, he laid the foundation of the friendships with a serious-minded group of Pietists, which connection changed the tenor of his life and eventually brought him to the new world. In 1680 he set out on the grand tour, a necessary part of the education of a man of parts of the time, as companion of a young nobleman Johann Bonaventura Von Bodeck, who Pastorius described as "a noble young spark." Their wanderings took them to Holland, England, France and Switzerland. Two years and five months were occupied in this leisurely journey, which afforded Pastorius the opportunity of meeting numerous important men of learning and culture.

Repelled by the lightness and frivolity of his late companions on his return to Frankfort, he renewed his intimacy with the group of men and women who had been variously influenced by the visits of William Penn and his companions to the Rhine Provinces. It was they who formed the Frankfort Land Company, making an initial purchase of 15,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania and appointing Pastorius their Agent and Manager.

Pastorius in the furtherance of his new duty, proceeded to London where he engaged four servants, thereby increasing his retinue to eight, and embarked at Deal on a ship significantly named the *America*. And although the passage was reasonably short, yet it was not without its trials. All the passengers were seasick for some days. Two of the ornaments or supports over the ship's bell fell on Pastorius and injured his back, and a later heavy fall during a storm also brought its injury. One of his servants had a fall, three others were seriously ill. One of the sailors became insane and the ship was shaken by the repeated assaults of a whale. The food was extremely bad and as a contrast to the elaborate provision of the modern voyage, I give it: "Every ten persons received three pounds of butter a week, four cans of beer and two cans of water a day, two platters full of peas every noon, meat four dinners in the week and fish three, and these we were obliged to prepare with our own butter. Also we

must save from the noon meal so that we might get supper out of it. The worst of it all was that both the meat and fish were so salty and had become rancid that we could hardly eat half of them." His retinue of servants included two women and was a cosmopolitan group. He says of them, "I have those who hold to the Roman, to the Lutheran, to the Calvinistic, to the Anabaptist, to the Anglican and only one Quaker."

The *America* sighted the shores of the land for which it was named on the 16th of August; on the 18th they entered the Capes of Delaware; by the 20th they had beaten their way up to New Castle and the same evening dropped anchor off the wooded bluffs of Philadelphia.

Pastorius immediately called on Penn, from whom he received a hearty welcome. Penn by this time had been almost a year in Pennsylvania, a year filled with as many and varied experiences and duties as seldom fall to the lot of man in a short twelve months. The early purchasers of 5000 acre tracts were entitled each to a city lot and 100 acres of liberty lands adjoining the city, but the Frankforters had been late in making their purchase and the limit for the bonus of liberty lands and city lots had expired, but Penn realizing the importance of satisfying the Germans made a special effort to find a well-located lot and gave them the northern half of a two hundred foot lot which he had reserved for his son William Penn, Jr.

As we stand facing the river, let us try to picture the steep bank as it was in the autumn of 1683. All accounts speak of the pine and other forest trees which ornamented the high bank of the river. So dense were the bushes in places that Pastorius relates he became confused and lost on one occasion when going to the baker but a short distance away. To the right of us lay the hundred foot lot of William Penn, Jr., of course at that time unimproved, with its side on what is now South, then Cedar Street. Next beyond the unplotted Cedar Street was the home of Andrew Swanson, a Swede, one of the sons of Swen Gunnason, who as early as 1644 had been growing tobacco on the banks of the Delaware and who, with his three sons, Swen, Olave and Andrew, originally held title to a large part of the site of Philadelphia under surveys from the Duke of York. Next beyond

Andrew to the south was an Englishman whose name we do not know, and beyond him the house of the Pastor of the Swedes' Church. The latter building came next, built as a block-house in 1669 and converted into a place of worship in 1675, to be succeeded in 1700 by the present brick building; the oldest house of worship in the city. Beyond the Swedes' Church was the home of Swen Swenson at Wicaco, now about Washington Avenue. Next, to the north of us, was the property of Philip Ford, an English Friend who never came over. Beyond came the trading house of the Free Society of Traders lying this side of Dock Street, then the Blue Anchor Inn, on the other side of that now lost stream whose winding bed is still indicated by Dock Street. The ownership by the English Trading Company gave the name of Society Hill to the slope to the northward of us.

But let Pastorius tell in his own words the lay of the land and his satisfaction in his new home: "Thus in front lies the Delaware; then comes a broad street, upon which falls our first allotment, a hundred feet broad and four hundred long (that is to say in depth). At the end of this comes a lane, then our second allotment, of the same breadth and length, then comes another, and finally our third allotment. Upon each lot two houses in front and two behind can suitably be built side by side, consequently upon the three lots twelve houses with their appurtenant buildings; and yet all these give upon the streets. Necessarily, however, if we do not wish to lose these lots we must within two years build three houses, that is, one house upon each lot. Upon the front lot I have, with our man-servant, built already a small house, half under the ground and half above, which indeed is only thirty feet long and fifteen feet broad, yet, when the Crefelders were lodging here with me, could harbor twenty persons. On the oiled-paper window over the door I wrote: 'Parva domus sed amica bonis, procul este prophani' (A little house, but a friend to the good, remain at a distance, ye profane). This William Penn lately read, and burst into laughter. Also I have a cellar seven feet deep and twelve broad and twenty long, dug on the banks of the Delaware and am now occupied with building a stable. All three lots are cleared of the trees, and I shall immediately fence them and plant them with Indian corn. N.B. It is

especially difficult and expensive to fence all the land, yet on account of the horses, cattle and swine running at large, we cannot dispense with doing it. Also one cannot, the first year, plant either rye or wheat in such new land, but only Indian (or as you call it, Turkish) corn, which, however, does not taste nor satisfy so well."

And later enlarging somewhat on the description of the dug-outs, Pastorius continues: "The caves of that time were only holes digged in the ground, covered with earth or matter 5 or 6 feet, 10 or 12 wide and about 20 long whereof neither the sides or the floors have been planked. Herein we live more contentedly than many nowadays in their painted and wainscotted palaces, as I without the least hyperbole may call them in comparison of the aforesaid catacombs or dens. I myself purchased one of old Thomas Miller at 5£ then current silver money of Pennsylvania in the midst of the front street at Philadelphia, whereas the servants I had along with me could have made a far better in less than two days had they known how to handle the spade."

How many of these caves and dugouts dotted the river bluff we can only surmise. The shortage of sawed lumber, the difficulty of felling trees and sawing them up and getting out the stumps loomed large to many of these Philadelphia first settlers, who had followed city and town pursuits and were unaccustomed to hard manual labor. Pastorius among his eight servants had no one who could effectively wield a shovel and pick. The rush of immigration made a shortage in housing that the damp and cramped caves could but partly fill. By the time Pastorius arrived the city had advanced to four score houses and cottages such as they were, yet settlers had been pouring in, twenty-three shiploads having arrived in the previous year, 1682. And speaking of the shortage of lumber, it is interesting to note that the first Friends' Meeting House erected in the infant city was built of boards imported from the neighboring province of New York. The vacant caves, as better and permanent homes were built, became a menace to health and good order and in 1685 all families living in them were ordered to appear before the Council. A citizen was cited by the Grand Jury for suffering drunkenness and evil doings in his cave and all the caves in the bed of Front Street were ordered filled in without delay.

It was while living in his dugout that Pastorius made arrangements with an Indian to bring him a wild turkey for his table and kept the strap which the savage used to carry bundles as security. The Indian relying on the inexperience of the newly arrived settler brought him an eagle but Pastorius had seen many eagles in his time and was not to be deceived. It was probably from this bird that he took the quill which he used for a pen, ascribing to it some of his lofty flights of description.

Following Pastorius about two months later were the first families who were to settle on the lands purchased by other German capitalists. They came from the town of Crefeld on the borders of Holland and made about one third of the *Concord's* passenger list, on which boat they sailed from London. There were thirteen artisans in the party, thirty-three souls in all, and they had a wonderfully prosperous voyage. "The blessings of the Lord did attend us so that we had a wonderfully prosperous voyage," writes one of the passengers. "On the whole voyage we did not experience as much inconvenience as between Holland and England," he continues, which is but a two hundred year old damning of the English Channel.

The *Concord* reached Philadelphia October 6th, and the little dugout was taxed to its capacity to shelter the women and children of the party. As many as twenty, Pastorius says, were lodged with him.

The lots in Germantown having been plotted and numbered and then drawn by the new owners on the 25th of October, Pastorius with seven of the colonists went out that day to Germantown and it was on this trip, symbolical of the land of plenty to which they had arrived, that they found a wild grape vine running over a tree on which they found some four hundred bunches of grapes, so that after eating their fill they each proceeded homeward with a hatful. In a short while this path to and from Germantown was trodden smooth in good shape as the settlers journeyed back and forth preparing their homes for the winter.

We do not know how soon a more suitable dwelling sheltered the Agent of the Frankfort Land Co. Later than the events we are today marking in bronze, he joined the Society of Friends,

moved to Germantown, became the leader, counsellor, lawyer, teacher, conveyancer for his countrymen. He kept the records of the court, was bailiff of the borough, a justice of the peace and member of the assembly. He wrote books, many of them, married and had children and passed away in Germantown, February 27, 1719.

The line on the tablet, "Here the original thirteen settlers drew lots for their new homes," by itself is but a trifling incident in our city history, but if we regard it as the point of focus of all that had gone before in the lives of these early colonists and again all that their coming signified in the settlement, not only of Pennsylvania, but of our country as a whole, its importance, and its justification for being there is unquestioned.

Within the span of their own lives a study of the motive influences which brought them here would include, in a religious way, the founding and development of the Mennonite faith, the rise of Quakerism, the travels of Fox, Penn, and many others in the Rhine Provinces, the economic and social surroundings in Europe in the late seventeenth century and the devastating wars which had laid waste whole provinces of Germany, making their struggle for existence and even life itself of the hardest.

And looking forward this little body of simple artisans, dyers, weavers, spinners, were facing hopefully their great adventure. They were to lay the doorstep over which was later to enter the province that great stream of German immigration, which was to influence so profoundly the development of our Commonwealth.

Germantown today is a city in itself of well on to 100,000 souls and the facts of its founding trace back to this little dugout. Turning their backs on war weary Europe, in a new land under the oaks and pines and hemlocks of the Wissahickon hills, they laid out the homes for which, on this spot, they made their choice. And in these homes, by their piety, industry, frugality, good citizenship and regard for their fellowmen, they made a name for themselves and their Germantown far beyond anything they could have foreseen, no matter how eagerly they tried to scan the ages yet to come.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

Books of interest to Friends may usually be purchased at the following places:

Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Walter H. Jenkins, 140 N. 15 St., Philadelphia.

Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City.

Friends' Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2, England.

When the price of an English book is given below in terms of American money, it means that one of the American book stores has quoted that price.

Baynes, Hilton A. (editor). *Intimate Letters of a Quaker Magistrate (John James Cooper)*. London: Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1924. Pp. 138, board. $1.00.

These charming letters are of the period 1913–1920. Covering the years of war, they show a Friend not wavering in his peace testimony nor becoming embittered by opposition. The genial friendliness and persistent optimism are apparent to the last letter written three days before his death.

Brinton Genealogy, A History of William Brinton . . . and His Descendants. Data collected by Gilbert Cope and edited by Janetta Wright Schoonover, Trenton, New Jersey. 1924. Pp. 800, cloth. $ 10.00 postpaid.

Another Quaker genealogy makes its bow to the public. At least most of it seems to be Quaker, in spite of the coat of arms with its lion rampant.

For Friends in America the thread of interest leads down from the emigrant William Brinton who came to Pennsylvania in 1684 to the present-day Director of Friends' Historical Association—and his worthy kinsfolk.

Editors do not read genealogies from cover to cover. Probably nobody does. Yet a good genealogy is most valuable for reference, and an ever present help to the historian. This one seems to be good. The tireless collecting of Gilbert Cope again yields its increase. The editing also is well done. There are thirty illustrations, including a map of the old Brinton neighborhood in Birmingham, Penna., and vicinity. There is a beautiful portrait of Walter Carroll Brinton (1894–1918) who died in France while engaged in relief and reconstruction work under the American Friends' Service Committee.

The editor of the volume gives credit to Ellen Starr Brinton, of Narberth, Pennsylvania, for "her steadfastness of purpose and competent leadership in bringing the publication of the *Brinton Genealogy* to completion."

Brown, Alfred Kemp. *Sacraments, A Quaker View.* London: Friends' Bookshop. 1924. Pp. 35, paper. Sixpence.

Now comes the Yorkshire 1905 Committee promoting the publication of another valuable treatise on a Friendly testimony. The need for a restatement

of the Quaker viewpoint concerning sacraments, in the light of advancing scholarship and experience, is obvious to most minds. At least it will become plain to anyone that will read this compact, pertinent statement.

It is largely historical. It deals with the history of the outward ordinances in the church; the emergence of the Quaker viewpoint; and the bearing of modern scholarship upon the problem.

Most heartening to the reviewer were the quoted statements of various non-Quaker scholars. On the side of Biblical criticism the following lines are typical:

> There is a growing consensus among independent scholars that Jesus instituted no sacraments, yet Paul found the rudiments of them among the Christians and believed he had the warrant of Jesus for the heightening which he gave to them.—Dr. T. R. Glover: *The Conflict of Religions*, 1909, p. 158.
>
> The words "This do in remembrance of Me" may certainly be regarded as a later addition. . . . If we set these words aside, there is nothing to suggest that our Lord had the intention of founding an institution or permanent rite of any kind.—The late Dr. Hastings Rashdall, Dean of Carlisle: *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology.*

A conclusion from the Reverend Percy Dearmer, D.D., a clergyman of the Church of England, is based upon the objective evidence of life:

> The Quakers are a body whose history conclusively proves the *possibility* of living the Christian life without Sacraments, and of living a life astonishingly above the level of Christianity at large. . . .
>
> We cannot pass them over as a mere exception. It is an exception which we must face: it is like one of those unexpected happenings in scientific experiment which obstinately vitiate a whole hypothesis.

Alfred Kemp Brown's study is a splendid contribution, suited to satisfy the inquiring minds of modern, thinking people. It is non-controversial in spirit—a fraternal contribution to the common quest for truth. It closes with a positive statement of the Friendly belief in a Divine ordination, an inward baptism, and a spiritual communion for every true believer.

Fifty Years' Work at Bunhill Fields. July 11th, 1874 to July 11th, 1924. London: Friends' Bookshop. 1924. Pp. 16, paper. Sixpence.

What could be more appropriate as a tercentenary publication than a little history of Bunhill Fields, where the body of George Fox was laid to rest?

This plot of ground was the first property owned by Friends in London, having been purchased in 1661 "for the use and service of the elect people of God in scorn called Quakers." It was used for interments until 1855 and it is estimated that more than twelve thousand Friends were buried there.

Originally there was no stone over George Fox's grave, in accordance with early Quaker custom. About 1757, when the grounds were enlarged, Fox's body was removed to its present location and since that time a small headstone has been placed over it. When the leaden coffin was opened at the time of removal the features of the founder were in a remarkable state of preservation. (Such a thing has been written down a miracle more than once in church history.)

The remainder of the pamphlet (from page 7) tells about the religious, educational, and philanthropic work that has been conducted at Bunhill Fields since 1874.

The frontispiece is a copy of the Lely portrait of Fox. There are also portraits of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and Joseph Allen Baker.

Martin, G. Currie. *The Adult School Movement, Its Origin and Development.* London: National Adult School Union. 1924. Pp. 435, cloth.

To many American Friends the Adult School in England is little more than a vague expression indicating a movement that is found somewhere in the twilight zone between religion and education. To such this volume by G. Currie Martin will be illuminating and to all it will be inspiring. Indeed, the author says that the book has been written, "not chiefly as a record of past attainment, but as a stimulus and encouragement for the future."

The Adult School is not a denominational movement, yet the outstanding influence in its development has been so markedly Quaker that this book reads like a narrative of Friendly achievement or gives the impression of a mosaic of Quaker personalities. In his Introduction, Sir Michael E. Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford, gives explicit recognition to the work of Friends and it is significant that when in another paragraph he selects out of hundreds of devoted workers "the names of a few persons of outstanding services," every name is that of a Friend: Joseph Sturge, William White, George Cadbury, William Charles Braithwaite, Sir George Newman and Arnold S. Rowntree.

In an admirable and scholarly manner the historic background of the Adult School is presented: its connection with the Lancastrian system of education for the poorer classes, established in 1798 by Joseph Lancaster, himself a Quaker, by the way; the beginnings in Adult School education made in 1798 at Nottingham in which the Quaker grocer, Samuel Fox, was a moving spirit, and in 1812 at Bristol in which another Friend, William Smith, was the leader; the rapid spread of the movement in its earlier period—to 1830. In its first phase, the inspiration behind it was largely religious, centering in the desire to teach people to read that they might "search the scriptures." Beyond this, the movement did not aspire and with but a limited objective it waned somewhat between 1830 and 1840.

"Once again," says the author, "the Society of Friends was privileged to take the leading part in this revival of a movement which, more than thirty years before, a number of their communion had done so much to foster at Bristol." Thus he introduces his readers to Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, who was largely instrumental in laying the broader basis for the modern Adult School which from that day to this has done so remarkable a work in giving to the working people of Great Britain a practical and even liberal education in a thoroughly spiritual atmosphere.

In successive chapters one moves steadily forward with the ever expanding life and scope of the Adult School: its widening horizons, its manifold manifestations, its phases of women's work, the federation of its units into the

National Council, the rise of its periodicals and literature, its international activities and finally, a look into the future. If there is a limitation in this fascinating story, we would find it in the lack of a more definite and adequate statement concerning the subjects and nature of instruction in the Adult Schools.

It is interesting to note that at least two American Friends made contributions to the movement. In 1873 Robert W. Douglas visited the Severn Street School in Birmingham, and in accordance with the practical bent of a "Yankee," suggested that some sort of a membership be prepared to give it more unity and cohesion. His idea was adopted, a "Christian Society" was formed and proved so successful that these Societies were formed in various parts of England, often developing into Friends' Home Missions. The other American was John T. Dorland, the well-known Canadian minister and evangelist, who was an enthusiastic worker in the movement and was made Editor of its organ *One and All* in 1894, his sudden death two years later being regarded as a severe loss to the cause.

The volume contains twenty full-page illustrations, including numerous Quaker faces, and closes with a series of valuable appendices.

WALTER C. WOODWARD.

HAVERFORD, PENNA.

Myers, Albert Cook (Editor). *William Penn's First Charter to the People of Pennsylvania, April 25, 1682.* Philadelphia: William Moland's Sons, Inc. 1925. Broadside.

This edition of the First Charter has been brought out by the publishers under the editorial supervision of our fellow member and Director, Albert Cook Myers. It contains a facsimile reproduction and also a reprint of the Charter. Most valuable of all to many people will be the Historical Note by the Editor. It bristles with facts concerning the drafting of the document and its later history; also about the witnesses who signed on the back of it. The significance of the Charter is pointed out and its value amply emphasized.

The facsimile is printed from a half-tone plate, 15 x 19 inches. It may be framed full size, or folded so that the other printed matter, which is on the back, will fall into four pages, with the facsimile inside. Eighteen thousand copies were printed to be distributed gratis to schools and colleges.

The publishers are to be congratulated on this timely contribution to a timely topic, and on their acumen in securing the greatest Penn authority for editor.

Somervell, John. *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714–1785.* London: Swarthmore Press. 1924. Pp. 160, cloth. $2.10.

This little volume is more than a genealogy and something less than a complete biography of Isaac Wilson (1714–1785) and his wife Rachel (1720–1775) by their great-great-grandson, John Somervell. While primarily written for a widely scattered family of descendants of this mid-eighteenth century English

Quaker family, the book will be of interest as well to the antiquarian and historian and particularly to American Friends on account of Rachel Wilson's visit to this country in 1768–9.

Isaac Wilson and his wife were residents of Kendal in Westmoreland, which was in their day and still remains a considerable Quaker centre. Isaac Wilson, as a lad of fourteen years, was sent to Kendal from a home in the hills near Hawkshead to serve an apprenticeship of seven years as a "shearman dyer." This trade was that of dressing and dyeing the product of the many hand-loom weavers in Kendal and the nearby district.

Having finished his apprenticeship, he married in 1740 Rachel Wilson, of the same name but not nearly related. She had been acknowledged as a member among Friends when about eighteen years of age. In 1744 with two little children in the home she undertook a religious visit of several months' duration throughout England. After other labors in England she sailed in 1768, for America, the only woman passenger on the packet. Reaching the Delaware Capes, October 14th of that year, she proceeded to Philadelphia. There, provided with a companion and a good riding horse, she started for the southern colonies. Owing to snow and ice when she set out on this journey she had a bad fall with her horse from which she sustained an injury which caused her pain and inconvenience throughout the trip.

Her labors extended as far south as Charleston, South Carolina, from which point she and her companion retraced their steps. On the way northward she paid a visit to Patrick Henry, whom she describes as a man of great moderation. "We had an open time in his family," she writes, "after which he made some sensible remarks."

While passing through Princeton on her way to New England, she received a petition signed by fifty-one students of that college, asking her to favor them with a sermon. An appointed meeting was held "to pretty good satisfaction though so crowded that a good part stood." The students behaved well and several of them came and spoke to her after the meeting.

While at Princeton she dined with Richard Stockton and later, at Newport, Rhode Island, met Stephen Hopkins—two important men of the colonies who later signed the Declaration of Independence.

Returning to Philadelphia she embarked for home on the same packet boat which had brought her over, laden with certificates of unity and approval from the meetings she had visited, and the good wishes and affectionate regards of her many Philadelphia friends. Her visit had extended a few weeks over a year.

The book concludes with chapters on the children of Isaac and Rachel Wilson. These were John, the only son, and his seven sisters. From them are descended many friends whose names are well known in and out of present day Quaker circles.

CHARLES F. JENKINS.

Thomas, Anna Lloyd Braithwaite. *The Quaker Seekers of Wales.* London: The Swarthmore Press, Ltd. 1924. Pp. 186, cloth. $1.75.

From material found in an old volume called *Montgomeryshire Worthies*, in the *Journal* of Richard Davies of Welshpool and in original letters found among family archives the author of this book, herself a descendant of the Lloyds of Montgomeryshire in Wales, has reconstructed the story of Thomas Lloyd who was later to be the first Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania. "I was convinced," she writes, "that he was of the stuff of which heroes are made, a man of winning and attractive personality whose romantic story deserves to take its place beside those of the other founders of Quakerism."

Thomas Lloyd is first introduced as a student at Oxford, "a tall young Welshman whose pleasant face and clear grey eye betokened good temper and intelligence." But his student days came to an abrupt end for he was recalled to his home to look after the estate at Dolobran from which his older brother Charles had been taken and thrown into Welshpool Gaol for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. In his efforts to help his brother he was brought much in contact with those who had found peace and joy in their new faith and finally openly acknowledged himself a Quaker.

As a skilful and well-beloved doctor he was known and respected throughout the district and his arrest on the way home from his wedding aroused much activity on his behalf. It was finally arranged that he and his brother might hire a house and live there with their families. They lived together for eight years. They were not permitted to visit Dolobran and the premunire was enforced on Charles Lloyd's property, but Thomas Lloyd was allowed to visit his patients in Poole and even on one occasion to make a religious visit to Friends in another town.

For ten years after his release in 1672 Thomas Lloyd and his family lived at Maes Mawr about two miles from Welshpool. But, as the author says, "the Quaker faith in God . . . carries with it the implication that the Christian life is throughout a great adventure of faith . . . a time for making great experiments with the spiritual weapons of faith and love; and in the distance, hidden as yet from the vision of Thomas and Mary Lloyd, one such adventure loomed." Of this adventure across the water the author holds out the hope that she may sometime write, but the present volume ends with the year 1682. Although chiefly concerned with Thomas Lloyd and his family, other Friends, notably Richard Davies, are often referred to and there are sidelights given of the religious conditions in the Church. The style is pleasing and there are six illustrations.

ELIZABETH B. JONES.

HAVERFORD, PA.

The Everyman edition of *The Journal of George Fox*, as announced in the last BULLETIN, p. 94, has now been issued. It is printed from the plates of Norman Penney's "Tercentenary Text," with the illustrations omitted. For general reference it is the handiest and most economical edition of the *Journal.*

George Fox, Non-Quaker Opinions of His Character and Work. 1924. Pp. 4. This is a valuable little pamphlet put out by The American Friends Literature Council. It contains opinions of Fox by Edward Everett Hale, William James, Charles H. Spurgeon, John Fiske, Thomas Carlyle, S. R. Gardiner, and G. M. Trevelyan.

A life of Peter Collinson, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1693–1768), the Botanist of Peckham and Mill Hill who introduced so many plants into England and was a friend of John Bartram, Dr. Fothergill, Benjamin Franklin, Linnaeus and the leading Friends of Philadelphia, will shortly be published. It has been written from original sources by Norman G. Brett-James, M.A., B.Litt. Oxon., and can be obtained from the author at Ridgeway House, Mill Hill, London, N.W. 7, for sixteen shillings, post free. It will contain 300 pages, with portraits and illustrations, and will be uniform with the Life of Dr. Fothergill and the volumes on Quaker history by W. C. Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS.

The Friend (Phila.) is publishing "Selections from the Diary and Letters of Jesse Edgerton," beginning in the issue of 1 mo. 25, 1925. This Friend was for many years Superintendent of the Boarding School at Barnesville, Ohio.

The Friend (Phila.), 9 mo. 25, 1924, contains an interesting account, by Alfred C. Garrett, of William Penn's visit to Frankfort-am-Main in 1677. It was after this visit, we learn, that Francis Daniel Pastorius, one of the Pietist group in Frankfort, came to this country and finally settled in Germantown. *Friends' Intelligencer*, 11 mo. 1, 1924, gives a brief account of the unveiling of a tablet at 502 South Front Street, Philadelphia, on the site of the dug-out where Pastorius first lived in Pennsylvania and where the drawing of the Germantown lots took place in 1683.

The office of *The Friend* (Phila.) has recently been moved from Walnut Place to 304 Arch Street. The history of Walnut Place is told by Davis H. Forsythe in *The Friend* (Phila.), 10 mo. 30, 1924.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street) is preparing a new "Discipline." Parts of it were published serially by *The Friend* (Phila.), beginning with the issue of 12 mo. 25, 1924. This gave Friends an opportunity to read it before it was submitted to the Yearly Meeting of 1925.

The Friend (Phila.), 10 mo. 30, 1924, and *Friends' Intelligencer*, 10 mo. 25, 1924, both contain accounts of the Philadelphia Fox Tercentenary held at Fourth and Arch Streets, 10 mo. 18, 1924. Rufus Jones' address on the *Journal*

is published in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 14, 1924, and also in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1 mo. 24, 1925. The address by George Edwin Horr, of the Newton Theological Institution, on "The Present Day Message of George Fox," has been published in pamphlet form and may be obtained at The Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

Friends' Intelligencer, 10 mo. 11, 1924, gives an interesting list and brief accounts of Pageants recently given at various places,—Millville, Horsham, Byberry, and George School, Pennsylvania.

The American Friend, 8 mo. 7, 1924, published an account by W. Rufus Kersey of the George Fox Tercentenary at Waynesville, Ohio. This was arranged by a joint committee from three yearly meetings. There were addresses by George A. Walton, Walter C. Woodward, and others. Walter C. Woodward's address, "George Fox in a Modern World," was published in *The American Friend*, 12 mo. 18, 1924.

The George Fox Tercentenary was celebrated by Salem Quarterly Meeting at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 8 mo., 1924.—*The American Friend*, 9 mo. 18, 1924.

The American Friend, 1 mo. 8, 1925, contains an interesting record concerning slave-holding among Friends of Dover, N. H., and an extract from the minutes of the Monthly Meeting which records the freeing of a slave by Thomas Hanson.

The American Friend, 1 mo. 22, 1925, and *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1 mo. 3, 1925, contain an account of the Fox Tercentenary celebration at Chicago. Two hundred Friends and others met at Hull House upon the invitation of Jane Addams. In the afternoon there was a successful presentation of the pageant prepared by Elizabeth H. Emerson and Gladys May Hunt, of Penn College. In the evening there was an address by Rufus M. Jones on the life and personality of Fox.

The American Friend, 1 mo. 15, 1925, p. 54, quotes an interesting "Tribute to the Memory of George Fox" from the *Chicago Evening Post*.

The Friend (London), 8 mo. 15, 1924, contains an extremely interesting account of the Fox Tercentenary General Meeting at Kendal. There are several illustrations, among them pictures of Brigflatts, Preston Patrick and Swarthmoor Meeting Houses.

The Friend (London), 9 mo. 5, 1924, contains an editorial by Rufus M. Jones entitled, "George Fox's Letter to the Governor of Barbadoes." This called forth much divergent expression in letters which were published in the following issues: 9 mo. 12, 9 mo. 19, 9 mo. 26, 11 mo. 21, and 11 mo. 28, 1924.

The main point made by Rufus Jones was that the Barbadoes Letter was not primarily a statement of the Quaker viewpoint. It departed from the usual emphasis on inward religion in order to meet a certain specific charge, viz.,—that Friends were not sound in their theological views.

Characterizing the Letter Rufus Jones says: "We find nothing new or unique in it. . . . His basic faith is absent. His battle idea was the Light and Life of God revealed in Man. . . . The letter is a patchwork of phrases. It lacks organism and structure. It is flat and uninspired. . . . I am inclined to think that he had at this time a third period of depression. . . . In any case Fox in Barbadoes was by no means the same type of man with whom we are familiar in the creative years from 1647 to 1658. . . . The Letter is plainly a composite composition put together by Fox and other Friends. . . . A critical analysis of the Letter gives evidence that Fox composed the second part of the Letter, though not the first part, which contains none of his peculiar phrases, but in any case he passed upon it all and is responsible for it."

"We are not ashamed to confess that we believe the fundamental points which other Christians believe in so far as they are consistent with facts and truths of life, but we have always stood for something unique, for a way of life which the great historic creeds omit or neglect, and it does seem like a mild *surrender* to formulate our faith with the experimental way of life omitted."

The Friend (Phila.), 12 mo. 11, 1924, contains an editorial on the same subject, "The Barbadoes Letter." This valuable contribution by Davis H. Forsythe gives the historic setting of the Barbadoes Letter very clearly. It agrees with the main point of Rufus Jones as set forth above (second paragraph), and gives an illuminating re-statement of the central message of George Fox.

The historic importance of this whole discussion is rather great because the Five Years Meeting has given much emphasis to the Barbadoes Letter as a fundamental statement of the faith of Friends.

In *The Friend* (London), 10 mo. 3, 1924, Ernest W. Dawe describes a stained glass window in Fairhaven Congregational Chapel, near Lytham, Lancashire, in which George Fox is shown preaching on a hillside. At the bottom of the window is the inscription: "If Milton was the poet of the Puritan age, and Cromwell its soldier statesman, George Fox was its prophet—an elect soul, with visions, and 'great openings' who has not yet wholly come to his own in the world's estimation. B. 1624. D. 1690."

This is also reprinted in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 11 mo. 1, 1924.

The Friend (London), 10 mo. 31, 1924, is largely devoted to a statement of the history and aims of each of the six Federated Colleges at Selly Oak, Birmingham. There are pictures of them all,—Woodbrooke, Kingsmead, Westhill, Fircroft, Carey Hall, and the College of the Ascension.

The Nation (New York), beginning with the issue of 12 mo. 24, 1924, contains a series of three articles by Mollie Best on Quaker Revolutionaries. The titles of the three are: "The Death Battalion of Youth," "The Woman's Battalion," and "When Quaker Met Turk." There are accounts of Elizabeth Fletcher, James Parnell, Roger Hudson, Mary Fisher, and Thomas Lurting. The stories are vividly told, in modern English, and from a fresh point of view.

In *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 10 mo., 1924, Emma King has published an article entitled, "Some Aspects of the Work of the Society of Friends for Negro Education in North Carolina." This is an interesting account of what North Carolina, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and English Friends did for negro schools in that state.

The *Philadelphia Forum Magazine* of 1 mo., 1925, has an article on George Fox by Horace J. Bridges. The portrait by Sir Peter Lely is reproduced in it.

In the *Forum* (New York) of Third Month, 1925, there is a stirring paper on George Fox by J. St. Loe Strachey under the caption, "The Christianity of Christ." The author is editor of the London *Spectator* and it is explained in the fore-word that he is not a Friend. The explanation is timely for he writes good Quaker doctrine, save for some occasional over-praise of his subject. Yet he keeps one foot on the brake pedal, as in the following: "But I did not start with any intention of defending or apologizing for George Fox's hot temper. My intent was to show how and why the Quaker faith is the noblest graft upon the Christian stock. It may well be, indeed, that the principles laid down by Fox and the faith which he preached will, as I have already said, be the faith of the new age."

The author's reason for this tentative prophecy is expressed in his closing paragraphs: Because Fox denounced the three idolatries, "Ritual, Dogma, and Exclusiveness"; and because he "knew God experimentally" and proclaimed the possibility of "understandable relations" between God and man.

A charming sketch of the life of "Dolly" Madison, wife of President James Madison, appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of 11 mo. 29, 1924. The dashing girl, the charming hostess of the White House, the comely, wistful matron of advanced years, are introduced in turn, with clever and engaging artistry.

(Dorothy Payne Madison was a birth-right Friend. She was disowned in 1794 for marrying James Madison. See Ella K. Barnard, *Dorothy Payne: Quakeress*. Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach. 1909.)

In *The Providence Sunday Journal*, of Providence, Rhode Island, 11 mo. 23, 1924, p. 8, is a notice concerning the retirement of Dr. Seth K. Gifford and his wife, Mary Amy Gifford, from the management of Moses Brown School of

Providence. Historical notes are given on the progress of the school in the two decades during which Dr. Gifford has been Principal.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (10 Mo., 1924) contains an article by Dr. John W. Harshberger of the University of Pennsylvania entitled, "Some Old Gardens of Pennsylvania."

The six gardens mentioned are John Bartram's Garden on the banks of the Schuylkill, Humphry Marshall's Garden at Marshallton, Pa., Painter's Arboretum near Lima, Pa., Peirce's Arboretum, now a part of "Longwood," the home of Pierre S. Dupont, Kennett Square, Pa., John Evans' Garden, near Rosemont, Pa., and Awbury, the home of the Cope family, Germantown, Pa.

It is interesting to note that all six of these gardens were first planted by Friends.

For purposes of record we note also that in 1920 and 1921 Dr. Harshberger published in *The Garden Magazine* beautifully illustrated accounts of these same gardens as follows:

John Bartram, 10 mo., 1920.
Humphry Marshall, 11 mo., 1920.
Minshall and Jacob Painter, 1 mo., 1921.
Samuel and Joshua Peirce, 2 mo., 1921.
John Evans, 5 mo., 1921.
Awbury, 6 mo., 1921.

There is an interesting and diverting item in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 10 mo., 1924, p. 383, concerning Benjamin Franklin. It is from a paper left by Roberts Vaux relating to his grandfather's friendship and association with the great philosopher. Several friends went to Franklin's home much concerned about the severe attacks in his newspaper upon leading public men. The result of the visit was not encouraging. Franklin disagreed with them on principle and his wife fed them on sawdust pudding. They "never more interfered with the intripid (sic) editor."

In *The Methodist Recorder*, 4 mo. 10, 1924, appeared an interesting article entitled, "George Fox and John Wesley,—Comparisons and Contrasts." The following comparison is enlightening:

"But if Fox and Wesley had much in common, they were in other ways very different. Fox, for instance, was a comparatively unlettered man, whose reading was largely confined to the Bible; while Wesley was not only a scholar and a gentleman, but, in a very good sense of the word, a man of the world. Wesley had an eye for everything, and a gift of caustic humour. Nothing, however big and significant, or however small and mundane, escaped his observation; and consequently, in the pages of his *Journal*, we see the whole life of his time as we can see it nowhere else. It is greatly to be regretted that Fox offers us no such picture of *his* age. He had, apparently, none of Wesley's insatiable curiosity and little of his keen objectivity. Of all the innumerable

towns that he visited, for instance, he gives us, so far as we can trace, but a single line of description, when he says of Carnarvon that it is 'a city like a castle.' To the student of social, as distinct from religious, history, therefore, his *Journal* is less interesting and less valuable than Wesley's. And yet, curiously enough, with the story of his 'blessed' meetings, his travels and imprisonments constantly repeating itself in simple language, his *Journal* somehow grips the general reader hardly less surely than Wesley's; and this can only be attributable to the fact that, along with his forcefulness and courage, and mingled with a certain roughness, there was in his nature an innate sweetness and charm."

(The editor wishes to acknowledge the efficient help of Susan J. Dewees in the preparation of the above Items from Periodicals.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

An afternoon and evening meeting, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Fox, was held at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, 10 mo. 18, 1924. It was largely attended by Friends of both branches.

Rufus M. Jones spoke on "The Journal of George Fox." The substance of his address was published in *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 11, 1924; also in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1 mo. 24, 1925.

George Edwin Horr, President of Newton Theological Institution, spoke on "The Present Day Message of George Fox." His address has been published in pamphlet form.

A large number of Friends gathered for supper in the lunch room of the Meeting House.

Charles Francis Jenkins presided at the meeting, which was one of the most auspicious gatherings of the tercentenary year.

Of peculiar interest to the members of Friends' Historical Association was the recent visit to Philadelphia of Major Percy Penn-Gaskell, of Shannagarry, the ancient seat of the Penns in County Cork, Ireland. He is eighth in direct descent from William Penn, and the present head of the Penn family.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania gave a reception in his honor, 1 mo. 7, 1925, and very graciously sent invitations to the entire membership list of Friends' Historical Association.

It was a brave sight to see Chief Strongwolf, wearing the feathered headdress of the Lenni-Lenapes, smoke the peace pipe with this descendant of William Penn and place the precious old wampum belt across his arm, thus renewing the ancient pledge of friendship and brotherhood.

William Penn's Charter of 1682 to Pennsylvania now rests securely within the walls of the State House at Harrisburg. Readers of the BULLETIN are no doubt familiar with the recent successful effort of the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, to purchase it by popular subscription. Members of Friends' Historical Association aided in the purchase by subscribing $588.10 to the total price of $25,000. The former amount was sent by the members to the Treasurer of the Association and forwarded by him to the *Public Ledger*. (For a note on the earlier history of the Charter see *The Friend* (Phila.), 11 mo. 27, 1924, p. 262. See also note concerning broadside edited by Albert Cook Myers among Book Reviews above.)

A facsimile reproduction of the Charter was printed in the *Public Ledger* of 12 mo. 7, 1924. Reprints of the document are to be found in standard collections of historical source materials.

It is proper to record here that this Charter was never put into effect as it stands. After William Penn drew it up he came to America and organized the government of the Province. In the exigencies of that task he departed in several important details from the plan he had worked out in England. Yet the basic liberalism of the document was not violated, and this Great Charter of Pennsylvania may well be cherished as a priceless heirloom by all generations of Pennsylvanians.

In transferring the Charter from Philadelphia to Harrisburg appropriate ceremonies were held in each of the cities on 3 mo. 24th and 25th, 1925, respectively. Two members of Friends' Historical Association took part in these ceremonies. On the former occasion President W. W. Comfort gave one of the addresses, and on the latter Albert Cook Myers gave the history of the Charter.

The eighth Annual Report of the Trustees of the John Woolman Memorial Association (1924) has been printed and distributed. Various gifts to the Memorial are noted, including the original deed, dated 1786, for the house and lot at Mount Holly, New Jersey, from John and Mary Comfort to Jabez and Esther Woolston.

The old frame house of John Woolman, moved to the premises and almost re-made, now houses the Exchange, and is also entertaining week-end guests.

A circular has been issued by the Trustees including the following important notice:

> "Heretofore the Trustees have depended for financial support upon voluntary contributions, and efforts made at times for collection of funds for especial purposes. The results are, however, so uncertain and inadequate that the Trustees have determined to ask for definite annual contributions, upon which the Treasurer will be able to depend for the support of what is rapidly taking on the aspect of a community work, which should in time contribute to the good of the rural neighborhood in which it is placed—one of the garden spots of the country. It is very necessary to raise more endowment for carrying on this important work."

Those interested in aiding this historic Quaker shrine should communicate with Amelia M. Gummere, President, or Edward Woolman, Treasurer, both at Haverford, Pennsylvania.

The recent attempt to secure new members for Friends' Historical Association resulted in the addition of about fifty names to the roll. More than half of these were secured by one loyal member who really cared. It is to be hoped that all members will bear the matter in mind and ask their friends to join. The regular, current shrinkage in any such society makes it imperative that there be a constant solicitation going on for the enlargement of the lists. See notice on page ii of this BULLETIN. Send names and addresses to Anna Richardson, Torresdale, Pennsylvania, who is Chairman of the Membership Committee.

Our fellow-member and Director, Francis R. Taylor, read a valuable paper before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 11 mo. 17, 1924. The title of the paper was, "William Savery of Philadelphia, and the Indian Policy of the United States, 1790–1800."

John Cox, Jr., 7 East 42d Street, New York City, has prepared the manuscript for a book on John Bowne. By patient research he has uncovered many new facts and upset many old traditions.

For example, every mention of the case heretofore published states that Bowne was banished to Holland; that on arrival at Amsterdam he so successfully pleaded before the Board of Directors of the West India Company that they issued their order for religious liberty. Some accounts even have him bring their letter to Governor Stuyvesant in America.

John Cox, Jr., now finds that Bowne was banished from New Netherland; could leave the ship at any port; did leave it at the Irish coast; traveled across Ireland and England before proceeding to Holland; and reached Amsterdam weeks after the date of the Directors' letter, of which he learned nothing until his return to New Netherland.

This is merely one illustration of much new data that the author has gathered. The Editor of the BULLETIN has had the privilege of seeing the manuscript book and hopes that means may be found to put it through the press.

Those in the vicinity of Philadelphia who have not already done so should notice the Penn tablet just inside the Juniper Street entrance of Wanamaker's store.

There is a medallion head of William Penn at the top of the tablet. Near the bottom is an Indian with uplifted hand standing beneath the Treaty Elm. The inscription is from Penn's message to the Indians:

"We are met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all to be openness, brotherhood and love."

Dr. T. Kenneth Wood, of Muncy, Penna., read a paper on "Samuel Wallis" before the Lycoming County Historical Society, 1 mo. 20, 1921. Samuel Wallis (1736–1798) was in early life a successful merchant in Philadelphia.

Later he became a great land owner and speculator. He moved to Muncy Valley and built a stone mansion-house that is still in a good state of repair. He was a Friend and it is said that the first Friends' Meeting in Muncy Valley was held in his home, and that a log meeting-house on his land ante-dated the old stone structure now standing in Pennsdale. Samuel Wallis became a trusted buying agent in Pennsylvania for the Holland Land Company. He died of yellow fever in Philadelphia, 1798.

Dr. Wood's paper was printed in the *Muncy Luminary* of 2 mo. 4, 1920.

In the *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, 1 mo., 1925, there is a note signed S. W. W., Jr., on "Philadelphia Cabinet Makers." Apparently the author is Dr. Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., the efficient Curator of the Museum. In this note he takes a position concerning the work of William Savery (1722–1787) quite opposed to that mentioned in the BULLETIN of last Autumn, p. 105. He feels that "the cult of William Savery" has been over-advertised; that the proven Savery pieces are few and far between; that Savery's vaunted fortune was made chiefly in a tan-yard that he owned. "His place of business, 'The Sign of the Chair in Second Street by Market Street,' was a 12′6″ lot, and this seems a very inadequate shop to produce all of the elegant 'high-boys' and 'low-boys' in the quantities that they have been found."

The editor of the BULLETIN holds no brief for "the cult of William Savery" or for the anti-Saveryites. He has some authority, however, for the statement that the elder Savery never owned a tan-yard. It was his son, William Savery (1750–1804), who was the tanner and minister.

It would also seem that a house of three or four stories on the small lot above-mentioned might be entirely adequate. One must remember that in those days such an establishment was actually a *manu*-factory. Vast space for gigantic machines was not required.

For the rest the BULLETIN is content to await the dictum of Francis R. Taylor in his forthcoming study of the younger William Savery.

Occasional inquiries come to the editor as to the location of a file of *The Freedman's Friend*. Scattering copies are in various Friends' libraries. Numbers 1 to 55 are in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

The appointment was recently announced by President Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College of John William Graham, former principal of Dalton Hall in the University of Manchester, as the first occupant of the Howard M. Jenkins Chair of Quaker History and Research. This chair was established last year at Swarthmore College by Charles F. Jenkins and family. The purpose of the chair is to provide for the teaching of the history and development of the Religious Society of Friends, and for research in that subject.

Professor Graham comes as the first lecturer of this chair for the academic year 1925–26. John William Graham was born in 1859 at Preston, Lancashire,

England, was educated at University College, London, and Kings College, Cambridge. He was Assistant Master at Oliver's Mount School, Scarborough, until 1886, and taught at Dalton Hall, Manchester, 1886 to 1897, and was principal from 1897 to 1924. He was university extension lecturer in History and has been several times in the United States.

He is the author of a number of books on subjects connected with Quakerism, among them being "William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania," "War From the Quaker Point of View," and "The Faith of the Quaker."

By the kindness of our fellow-member John K. Garrigues, of Haverford, Pa., a valuable collection of historical data on the roads in and about Haverford has been placed in the Haverford College Library. It consists of thirteen pages of notes gleaned by Mr. Garrigues from the court records of Chester and Delaware counties, covering the period from 1687 to 1899. At this writing a copy of the notes is being placed in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

The following item concerning Old Haverford Road is typical:

> Old Court Records No. 1 page 184.
> Court held 4 month 9th, 10th, 1696.
> Road from David Meredith's Plantation to Haverford Meeting House. The Grand Jury made return of a road way laid out by them (viz). Chester County, May 8, 1696 laid out by the Grand Jury from David Meredith's plantation to Haverford Meeting House by virtue of an order of Court bearing date at a Court held 10th, 11, and 12th of Dec. 1695 at Chester followeth. Radnor: BEGINNING at David Meredith's plantation at a small red oak marked with 5 notches by Stephen Bevin's plantation, the plantation on the right hand; thence through Reece Thomas and Peter Edwards land to a red oak marked with five notches; thence through Morris Lewelin's land; thence through Thomas Reese's land between two cornfields; thence through George Painter's land; thence through Rachel Ellis' land; thence through Morris Lewellin's land, the house on the left hand straight from thence to the bridge on the run that comes from Reese Ruther's, his house on the left hand; thence through John Bevin's land down to Haverford Mill; thence up to Haverford Meeting house. Subscribed by us the aforesaid Grand Jury.

In connection with the above it may be worth while to remind readers of the BULLETIN of the splendid study of the "History of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike," by Judge Charles I. Landis, in the *Penna. Magazine of History and Biography*, vols. 42 and 43 (1918–1919).

As a frontispiece to the Spring BULLETIN, 1924, was published a group portrait of the four surviving original members of Friends' Historical Association. Already two of them have gone from us. In their passing the Association has lost two of its most loyal and eminent members.

Howard B. French died at his home in Radnor, Pennsylvania, 10 mo. 16, 1924. The *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia) said editorially the next day:

> "Howard B. French, who died Thursday night, was a forward-looking and loyal Philadelphian. He was identified with every movement during the last twenty or thirty years for the wellbeing of the city, the correction

of abuses, the stimulation of learning and the advancement of business interests."

Edward W. Woolman died at his home in Ardmore, Pennsylvania, 12 mo. 15, 1924, in his eighty-seventh year. He was a loyal supporter of many good causes, and his extensive business activities always partook of the nature of a service to his fellow men. He was a member of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for the Western District.—See *The Friend* (Phila.), 12 mo. 25, 1924, p. 310. There was also a notice, with portrait, in *The Evening Bulletin* (Phila.), 12 mo. 16, 1924.

Franklin Smedley was born 9 mo. 5, 1849, and died 9 mo. 22, 1924. He was a man of extensive business interests and an active worker in many lines of philanthropic enterprise. The public school system of his home city, Frankford (Philadelphia), owes much to his wise leadership and untiring zeal. He was a long time member of Friends' Historical Association and a founder of the Historical Society of Frankford. He served the latter society for sixteen years as President.

An impressive Memorial Meeting was held 1 mo. 20, 1925, at the Historical Society of Frankford, when a portrait presented by his family, and a beautiful bronze tablet erected by the Society to his memory, were unveiled by his niece, Elizabeth Brinton.

A biography was prepared and read by Caroline W. Smedley. Various tributes were paid by representatives from other organizations to which he belonged.

Timothy Nicholson (1828–1924) was no doubt one of the greatest Quakers ever produced in America. Throughout his long life, of ninety-six years, he was diligent and efficient in the service of God and human kind. He was Superintendent of Haverford College from 1859 to 1861. In 1862 he became a Trustee of Earlham College and served in that capacity for forty-nine years. He was an eminent leader in various lines of civic and social service, especially in the field of Prison Reform, and of Charities and Correction.—*The American Friend*, 9 mo. 25, 1924, was a memorial number, largely devoted to him,—with portraits. See also *The Friend* (Phila.), 9 mo. 25, 1924, and *The Friend* (London), 10 mo. 17, 1924.

The death of John Henry Barlow, late Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, was mentioned briefly in the last BULLETIN. For notices concerning him see *The Friend* (London), 8 mo. 15, 22, and 29, 1924, with portrait 8 mo. 22, p. 731; also *American Friend*, 9 mo. 18, 1924, with portrait. American Friends who saw him preside at the All-Friends Conference of 1920, and who heard him at the Five Years Meeting of 1922, felt at once that he was one of the great Quakers of this age.

A Memorial to Joseph J. White, of New Lisbon, N. J., was printed in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 9 mo. 27, 1924, p. 645. He was identified prominently

with the development of the cranberry culture in New Jersey and was highly influential in wide business and philanthropic circles. For many years he attended the sessions of the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and always "served the Society of Friends with dignity and propriety."

R. Barclay Spicer died at his home at Fallston, Md., 7 mo. 12, 1924, aged 55 years. He was a distinctly useful Friend with an especial interest in small, struggling meetings.—*Friends' Intelligencer*, 7 mo. 26, 1924, p. 502; 8 mo. 16, 1924, p. 549.

Jesse Edwards (1849–1924) died at Newberg, Oregon, 12 mo. 16, 1924. He was one of the pioneer Friends of the Pacific Coast, the "Father of Newberg," and a founder of Pacific College. The editor of the BULLETIN came to know him in Oregon twenty-five years ago. He was a Quaker of fine fiber, whom any community of Friends might be glad to claim as its own.

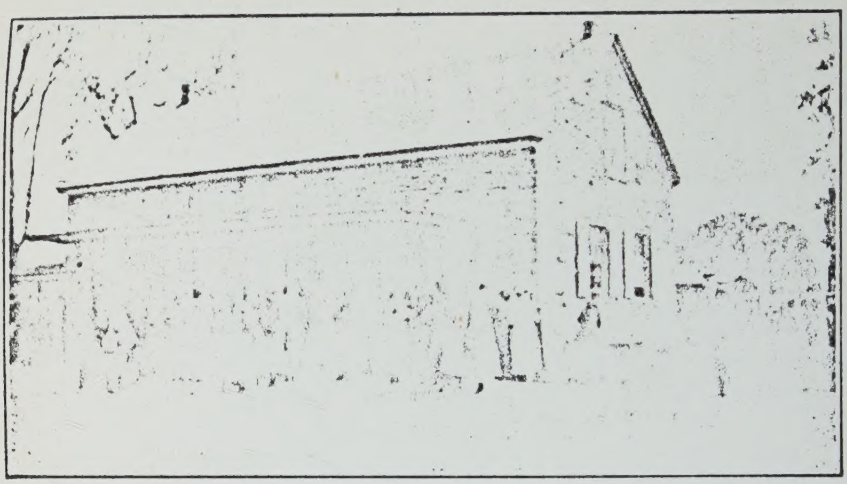
Another aged and notable Friend of the middle west passed away recently. This was Luke Woodard (1832–1925), of Fountain City, Indiana, who died 1 mo. 9, 1925. He was the last of the great leaders of the Revival Movement who took part in that movement from its inception about 1860.—For notices and portrait see *American Friend*, 1 mo. 22, 1925.

Readers of the BULLETIN are reminded that *The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, edited by Norman Penney, LL.D., is expected from the Cambridge Press about the time this BULLETIN appears. It has been edited and published through the initiative of Friends' Historical Association and is without doubt the greatest historical contribution of the tercentenary occasion. It is hoped that members will order their copies promptly from one of the book centers mentioned on page 34, above. The price in America has been fixed at $3.00, postage extra.

The following table shows the membership of Friends' Historical Association (prior to 1923, Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia) in various years:

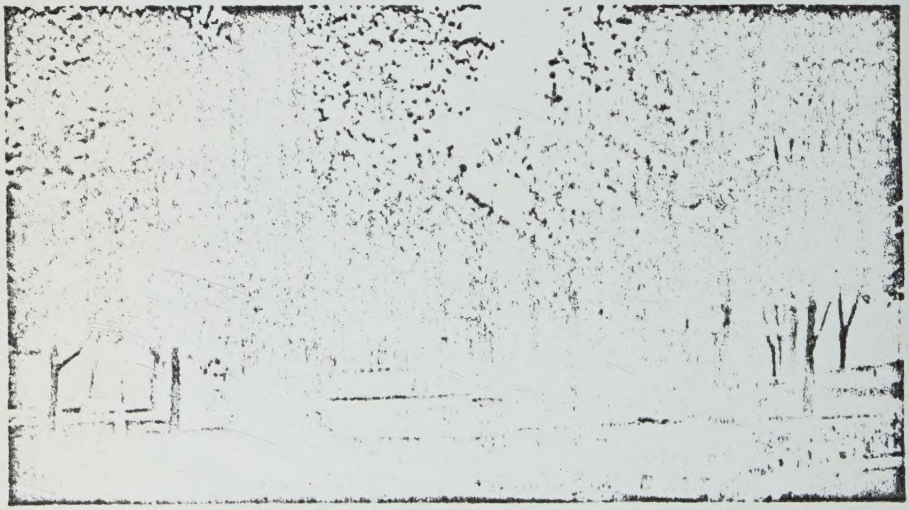
1906, 200
1908, 305
1921, 374
1923, 435
1925, 553

Invite your friends to join a live, active, growing historical association. Help us to gather and treasure the refined gold of the past—a safe standard for testing the perennial alloys.



OLD HAVERFORD MEETING HOUSE, Fifth Month 17, 1924.

Members and friends gathering for the "Tercentenary Meeting" of Friends' Historical Association to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Fox. See Bulletin, 13 (1924) : 51.



WOODBURY MEETING HOUSE, Woodbury, New Jersey.

Here was held the summer meeting of Friends' Historical Association, Fifth Month 16, 1925. The older part of this Meeting House dates from 1715. See page 67, below.